HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

VOLUME FOURTH;

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY

OF

THE NATIONAL TRANSACTIONS,

FROM

THE DEATH OF JAMES THE THIRD,

TO

THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SIXTH TO THE ENGLISH THRONE.

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ÆRA OF THE ABOLITION

OF THE

HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS

OF

SUBJECTS,

IN THE YEAR 1748.

BY ROBERT HERON.

VOLUME IV.

EDINBURGH:
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HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST TIMES,

TO THE

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

OF

SUBJECTS,

IN THE YEAR 1746.

BY ROBERT HENRY.

VOLUME IV.

EDINBURGH:
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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE *Fourth Volume* of the GENERAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, is preſented to the Public, with very great anxiety on the part of its Author. It embraces the hiſtory of the National Tranſactions of the Scots, during that important period, which extends—from the æra of the Death of James the Third,—to that of the Acceſſion of his deſcendant, James the Sixth, to the Engliſh Throne. Wars, Negotiations, Intrigues, Revolutions, and every variety of thoſe great events which make National Hiſtory intereſting, occur, in the courſe of this period, in a remarkable profuſion. It has been illuſtrated by the writings of our moſt eminent Hiſtorians. It has deſervedly attracted and fixed the curioſity of every liberal and inquiſitive mind.

ALTHOUGH a ſtranger to the influence of any whimſical paſſion for *novelty* or *ſingularity*; I have found myſelf compelled, in inveſtigating this period of the Scottiſh Hiſtory, to adopt views of the *principles*, the *paſſions*, and the *combinations* of events, which it preſents,—ſuch as differ, almoſt continually, from thoſe of former Hiſtorians. Venerating, with the profoundeſt reverence, the illuſtrious talents of the late *Great Dr* ROBERTSON,—*the* EPAMINONDAS, *perhaps, of Scottiſh Literature*; I ſhould have been far prouder, implicitly to follow his footſteps,—than I can ever be, to walk in any new path of my own making. But, *ſi amicus Plato, magis amica veritas.* Reſpecting, too, the powerful talents, as well as the patriotic and truly hiſtorical induſtry of *Mr* PINKERTON;

I cannot but greatly regret, that his excellent Work lately publiſhed, ſhould have contributed more to throw new light on *many particulars*, here and there, in *the minuter detail of the Hiſtory*,—than to exhibit the *general ſpirit and ſyſtem* of the National Tranſactions of the Scots, during thoſe reigns of which he writes, in their proper point of view. I have been obliged, in too many inſtances, to differ from him. I differ from him, with heſitation, with reluctance, with deference, with reſpect. Of the other writers who have employed their talents upon the ſame portion of the Scottiſh Hiſtory, I wiſh not to inſinuate any thing that does not imply a like regard. There is none of them whom I ſhould not have rejoiced to follow as my guide. There is none whoſe opinions I am inclined to reject with contempt. None from whom I differ, for any other reaſon, than becauſe TRUTH appears ſtrongly and urgently to demand it.

I REGRET, that I could not view the conduct and principles of the Leaders of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland in a more favourable light. I ſhould be concerned, if I were to become the object of any good Puritan's indignation, becauſe I cannot think Cardinal *Beaton* to have been *a very Devil*. But, I am not ill pleaſed to have *diſcovered*, that the Reformation of the Romiſh Religion aroſe from among the Romiſh Clergy themſelves: for I have long thought, that our Atheiſtical Hiſtorians meant no good to religion of any ſort, when they joined the hotteſt-headed Proteſtants, in raiſing ſuch a villainous outcry againſt the Romiſh Clergy, as the worſt part of ſociety, during the dark ages.

It was with extreme uneaſineſs, that I found myſelf obliged to conſider the lovely and hapleſs QUEEN MARY, as an accomplice in the murder of her huſband. To the influence of thoſe motives of gallantry, which have excited ſome eloquent writers to profeſs themſelves the advocates of her innocence, I am perhaps not more inſenſible, than even her moſt paſſionate admirers. Nay, I ſhall own, that ever ſince I ſaw *Bartolozzi's* fine *engraving* of her, *from a coin*, which is prefixed to *Dr* G. STUART's Hiſtory, I have actually been as much in love with her, as it is poſſible for one to be in love with a BEAUTY who died more than two hundred years ſince. Nor ſhould I be able to view, without tender emotion, any ſet of female features that ſhould wear the ſame air and aſpect, and ſhould be ſet off by a head-dreſs in the ſame faſhion. Yet, after all this, it were too ridiculous to ſuffer conſiderations of gallantry towards a woman who has long ſince been in the ſame ſtate in which *Shakeſpeare* makes HAMLET, in the *grave-digger's* ſcene, contemplate Cæſar and Alexander;—it were too ridiculous—to ſuffer gallantry towards a perſon in this ſituation, to vitiate the truth of Hiſtory. This, however, and upon ſuch motives, is what has been done by all Mary's late advocates. I am willing to allow, that in either *gallantry* or *intellect*, I have the misfortune to differ exceedingly from them.

HAVING found the *references of quotation* of all our Hiſtorians, without exception, to be ſo inaccurate, that they rarely direct the reader rightly to the authority to which they refer: I have ſtill perſiſted, in this Volume,

in ſimply marking at the bottom of my pages, the names of the principal *original* Hiſtorians, which the reader ought to read throughout, and to compare with one another, in order to judge of my hiſtorical veracity: Reſerving it to myſelf to give, in the Fifth Volume, an *accurate characteriſing Liſt*, of all the different ſources of information, by which my reſearches and my narrative have been enlightened.

IT is not neceſſary for me to ſay more in this place. I ſhall only add,——*If one general principle, if one particular* SENTIMENT, *if even but one* REPRESENTATION *of facts, have been admitted into* THIS, *or any* FORMER *Volume of this Hiſtory,—that has not appeared to the Writer to be adapted to promote the true intereſts of* PIETY, VIRTUE, *and* TRUTH;—*may the* RIGHT-HAND *that wrote it be for ever* WITHERED!—*may the Beneficence of the All-bounteous* GOD OF NATURE, *be withdrawn for ever from the* SOUL *that has conceived it!*

EDINBURGH,
April 20, 1798.

ROBERT HERON.

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HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK V.

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The Reign of JAMES IV.

JAMES, the eldeſt ſon of the murdered Monarch, had been already proclaimed King by the rebellious Douglaſes, Humes, and Hepburns, with their adherents. From the field at Torwood, he was immediately carried backward by his conductors to Linlithgow; where they reſted for ſome days in anxious ſuſpence, uncertain, whether their late Sovereign might not have eſcaped alive from the battle; almoſt terrified at the idea of their own victory; almoſt willing to riſk the danger of James's eſcape, revenge, and final ſucceſs againſt them, if they might but be cleared from the guilt of having been his murderers. As others continued to come in, however, and none could affirm, that the Monarch, againſt whom they had fought, was ſtill alive; they began gradually to familiarize themſelves to the idea of his death, and to conceive a

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new joy in the ſucceſs of their rebellion.—Yet, it was ſtill ſuppoſed, that James might have taken refuge with Sir Andrew Wood, who hovered with his ſhips in the Frith, for ſome days before and after the battle, and who was ſtill unſhaken in his fidelity to his Sovereign. But, to their inquiries, Wood replied with indignant grief, that his Sovereign was not with him; uttering, at the ſame time, the moſt furious threats and execrations againſt the traitors by whom ſo foul a regicide had been conſpired and perpetrated.—Satisfied at length that James the Third was no more; and believing that the nation muſt, of courſe, ſubmit to the government of his ſon who was in their hands; they then conducted the young King to Edinburgh, and there convoking a Parliament, proceeded to ſettle the government at their pleaſure.—Whatever grants had been made by the late King, ſince the beginning of the rebellion, were in that Parliament ſolemnly revoked. The oppoſition of James to his rebellious ſubjects was declared treaſonable. A precedent of inſurrection was ſanctioned by the legiſlature. They who had preferred their duty to their Sovereign to all baſer and more ſelfiſh reſpects, were branded as traitors worthy of condign puniſhment, and eſcaping only by the clemency of their young Prince *.

But, many of thoſe who fought at Torwood, on the

* Lindſay: Leſly: Skene's Acts.

the ſide of James the Third, having by this time returned into thoſe parts of the kingdom to which they reſpectively belonged; their hearts burning with loyal indignation, and a deſire of revenge; had begun without delay to muſter a new force; that they might yet reſcue the young King from the hands of his father's murderers, and might bring thoſe guilty barons to undergo the puniſhment due to treaſon. In the north, Forbes, carrying on the point of a ſpear, the bloody ſhirt which he ſaid the King had worn when he was ſlain, excited the clans to deſcend with one accord, and execute vengeance upon the traitors. In the weſt, the Earl of Lennox muſtered his vaſſals and marched to join the army which was aſſembling in the north. Sir Andrew Wood, too, ſtill retained his former purpoſes of vengeance, and was ready to take part with thoſe who reſolved to reſcue the ſon out of the hands of that faction who had deſtroyed the father.—But, this faction was already exalted above the ignominy of the name, and was eſtabliſhed too firmly to be overthrown by its opponents.—Nay, the exertions of thoſe who prepared to to avenge the murder of the late King, were rather the tranſports of blind inconſiderate rage, than the prudently concerted meaſures of a powerful and not unwiſe party.—Lennox betrayed by Macalpin, one of his own followers, was, by night, ſurpriſed by Drummond of Strathern at Tilly-moſs: To

Efforts to avenge the death of James III. ſuppreſſed.

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ſurpriſe enemies thus, was almoſt infallibly to route them: many of Lennox's followers were ſlain without reſiſtance; the reſt were entirely diſperſed in flight, ſo that they could not be again re-aſſembled.—In the north, the Gordons and Forbeſes, already leſs furious in their reſentment, and not ſucceſsful to their wiſhes in muſtering a new army; were induced, upon the news of Lennox's defeat, firſt to ſlacken their preparations, and afterwards to yield to a proffered reconciliation with their adverſaries.—Wood, too, being a man no leſs of prudence than of loyalty, conſidered that young James was now of right his Sovereign; and was therefore induced rather to forego his revenge, than to rebel, himſelf, againſt the Throne, or to lend his aid to haraſs the nation farther by the miſeries of civil war. The other barons who had at firſt followed James the Third, were already all reconciled to the government of his ſon. Some acts of grace, and a diſtribution of favours, were employed to perfect and confirm the general reconciliation. A general amneſty was accepted by thoſe who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the father: The authority of the government remained with them who had diſguiſed their own guilty ambition under the pretext of attachment to the intereſts of the ſon *.

In the mean time, the truce with England was at

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

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at an end; and ſome Engliſh veſſels, powerfully manned, came to ravage the coaſts, and intercept the trading ſhips of the Scots.—Had not Wood been reconciled to the new government, it would have been impoſſible for young James and his miniſters to equip a naval force ſufficient for the protection of their ſhores from ravage and inſult. Bartyne an eminent ſhipmaſter at Leith, and others, were in vain requeſted to ſail, and clear the Frith of the enemy; who way-laid and captured many as well of the Scottiſh trading veſſels, as of the Flemiſh ſhips which traded to the Scottiſh ports. But to Sir Andrew Wood, no more grateful undertaking could have been propoſed. Whatever additional men, artillery, or other equipment, were wanted for the complete fitting out of his two ſhips, the *Yellow Carnal* and the *Flower*; theſe were eagerly furniſhed to him. He ſailed out, and came up with the Engliſh fleet, which conſiſted of five ſhips, at the entrance of the Frith, over-againſt the caſtle of Dunbar. A long obſtinate ſea-fight enſued. Wood at laſt prevailed; captured all the Engliſh ſhips; and conducted them to Leith in triumph.—This firſt ſignal naval victory obtained by the Scots, the firſt ſucceſsful action of the new reign, againſt foreign foes, was extremely grateful to the young King and his nobles. Wood was honoured and rewarded with a generoſity not unworthy of his honeſt fidelity and gallant

Sea-fight with the Engliſh.

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lant valour.—The Engliſh however ſoon fitted out another fleet again to haraſs the Scottiſh coaſts, and to avenge the diſaſter they had thus ſuffered at ſea. Stephen Bull, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſeamen belonging to the Engliſh ports, was the commander of the fleet: It conſiſted of three large ſhips, powerfully manned, and in all reſpects ſuitably equipped for combat. Near the Iſle of May, they awaited the approach of Wood, who was now returning with his fleet from the coaſt of Flanders. The fiſhermen's boats in the mean time were in great numbers captured by thoſe Engliſh. Wood, with his ſhips, at laſt appeared. The Engliſh commander and his crews ſaw him come on, with that exulting joy which is natural to brave men when they ſee a glorious occaſion near, of riſking their lives for their King and country. Sir Andrew Wood, although taken ſomewhat by ſurpriſe, beheld their hoſtile ſhips with no leſs ſatisfaction. In either fleet, the gunners charged their artillery; the men who were armed with croſs-bows, made themſelves ready; pots of lime and fire-balls were prepared to be thrown from the top-maſts, and great, two-handed ſwords were made ready in the fore-rooms. The morning ſun ſhone bright upon the meeting fleets. The Scots ſailed cloſe up, on the windward of the Engliſh; and the fight began. All day, it was prolonged with every exertion on either ſide;

Wood and his crews mindful of their own former glory; the Engliſh prompted by emulation, reſentment, and innate valour. From the ſhore, the conteſt was eagerly beheld by crowds of men, women, children, intereſted for the Scots, little leſs earneſtly than if they had been themſelves in the midſt of the fight. Night for a time parted the combatants: But, with the return of morn, they renewed their engagement. While they continued to fight with unfated rage, with unwearied valour; the wind and tide conveyed both fleets to Inchcap, at the mouth of the Tay. Here Sir Andrew Wood and his men, ſeeing the Engliſh ſhips brought into a ſituation from which they could not be eaſily carried off; and ſeeing Bull and his ſailors to be incapable of much longer reſiſtance; redoubled their efforts, and ſoon ſucceeded, ſo as to take the Engliſh captain with his ſhips, and all his ſurviving mariners.—The captives with their ſhattered veſſels were carried into Dundee; and there the dead were buried; and due care was taken of the wounded. But, ſince it was but incidentally, and chiefly in conſequence of their connections with the Flemings, that the Scots had been expoſed to theſe naval hoſtilities from the Engliſh; James, ſatisfied with the protection of his coaſts and commerce, and with the glory acquired by his ſmall navy, declined the farther proſecution of the war which had been thus begun. With the generous

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generous magnanimity becoming a great Prince, he inſtantly ſet Bull and the ſurvivors of his crews at liberty, without ranſom; honoured them with liberal preſents; and ſent them home in their own ſhips, with a gay meſſage to the Engliſh King. Sir Andrew Wood was again ſplendidly rewarded; and was henceforth eſteemed by James as one of his truſtieſt and moſt gallant ſervants *.

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It was fortunate for James and for his kingdom, that, at the time when he was prematurely exalted by the rebellious barons to ſit on his father's throne; he had however attained much nearer to the age of manhood than had either his grandfather or his father when they reſpectively ſucceeded to the crown. At the age of fifteen, he was no longer liable to be made merely the property of any regent or tutor. Even that diviſion of the Scottiſh barons into two parties, which had taken place in the conteſt in which James the Third periſhed; proved advantageous to the tranquillity of the ſon's reign, and to the efficacy of his power. That part of the nobility who had taken part with the young Monarch's father, could not be unacceptable to him after the conteſt was over, for a conduct which promiſed equal fidelity to himſelf, ſince he was now their undoubted Sovereign; nor was it natural for thoſe who fought in defence of the father, to prove diſloyal to the ſon,

First acts of the young King.

* Lindſay, p. 157, &c.

ſon, when his father was now no more. Again, they who had ſet James upon the throne, were not likely to deſert abruptly the Monarch of their choice, and thus to forfeit all the advantages which their ſucceſs had beſtowed: Nor could James himſelf ſuddenly put on the guiſe of ingratitude, and ſet himſelf at variance with thoſe who had been the firſt to honour and exalt him. Beſides, the young King, whoſe education had probably been neglected by his recluſe father, had none of that love for bookiſh ſolitude, or of that averſion from the bold, manly exerciſes and arts, by which his father had been, firſt, rendered unfit for the active buſineſs of government. He was fond of war, of the tournament, of the chace. He delighted to mingle in active life, and therefore could not fail to acquire that uſeful common ſenſe which nothing but the experience of common life can beſtow. With all theſe advantages to augur proſperity to his reign, James ſeemed to proceed in the government of his kingdom, with the faireſt hopes of felicity, both to his ſubjects and to himſelf. Henry the Seventh of England, pacific by nature, and as yet unſettled on his throne, was diſpoſed rather to renew from time to time that truce which he had made with James's father, than to rekindle the ancient warfare by which the Engliſh had long ſtruggled to atchieve

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the conqueſt of Scotland. On all other ſides, the Scots had nought to fear from foreign foes *.

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In theſe circumſtances, James, by his ambaſſadors, announced to all the neighbouring Princes with whom the Scots had been wont to keep up an amicable intercourſe, the news of his ſucceſſion upon his father's throne; without declaring that guilt of himſelf and his barons, by which this event had been unhappily haſtened. By the ſame embaſſies, too, he directed inquiries to be made after a Princeſs who might be worthy to ſhare his bed and his throne.—His mother, as well as his youngeſt brother, the Earl of Marre, had died, without ſurviving to witneſs and to deplore the miſerable end of his father. His brother Alexander, however; who had been created Duke of Roſs, when, upon the forfeiture of Macdonald, the earldom of Roſs had fallen into the immediate poſſeſſion of the Crown; ſtill ſurvived, and was now educated by James, with the kindeſt fraternal care. New acts were inſtituted for the encouragement of the fiſheries; the burghs were enjoined to fit out boats; merchants poſſeſſed of wealth were encouraged to riſk a part of it in this ſpecies of naval adventure; even the King himſelf and his barons were induced to become partners in adventures for the herring-fiſhery. A law at once evincing the progreſs of knowledge, and tending

Progreſs of his government; and farther account of his private manners.

* Lindſay: Leſly: Bacon's Henry the Seventh, &c.

tending eminently to advance it farther; enjoined that every Lord of a barony ſhould educate at leaſt one of his ſons, in literature and in the laws. James, more active in the cares of government, than to confide the adminiſtration of juſtice in the remote parts of his kingdom, to the hands of the ſheriffs and juſticiaries; made frequent progreſſes in perſon, through the different counties, and exerciſed his power, at once with an energy and a moderation, well fitted to give efficacy to the laws, and to make his ſubjects happy. Nor did he, in the mean time, while his marriage with a foreign Princeſs was delayed, always avoid thoſe exceſſes in pleaſureable indulgence, and thoſe violations of chaſtity, which, although his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, had eſcaped them, were naturally incident to his youth, his high fortune, and the gallantry of his diſpoſition. Sometimes, James would, with amorous or with politic purpoſe, diſguiſe himſelf in the humble garb of a beggar, or ſome other mean perſon, and paſs unknown through the land; inquiring into the conduct of his officers, and liſtening to the opinions even of the loweſt of the people concerning the character of their King. Above all, the diverſions of the tournament, that mimic repreſentation of war, were ſingularly agreeable to the magnificence of his taſte, and to the generous gallantry of his ſpirit.—The fame of his paſſion for theſe ſports be-

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came known throughout Europe; and from all lands reſorted knights, who deſired to diſtinguiſh their proweſs in arms, at the Scottiſh court. In every knightly art, James himſelf excelled almoſt every other young man of the age. In all the exerciſes of the tournament, he himſelf, or ſome of his native ſubjects, uſually came off the victors *.

Amidst this diligent exerciſe of the duties of a great Monarch; this generous purſuit of ſuch amuſements alone as became a Monarch's dignity; and this cultivation of ſuch habits, as were ſuitable for the Sovereign of a bold, martial, and unpoliſhed people: James was addreſſed by a ſuppliant whoſe cauſe, whoſe character, and whoſe requeſts were, to make a deciſive trial of the political diſcernment, the knightly generoſity, and the martial ardour, of this young Sovereign of the Scots.

State of the policy of Europe.

During all the laſt century, eſpecially, the nations of Europe had begun to become continually more connected with each other by the ties of civil and political intercourſe, by the bonds of political combination, by means of that relative ſtability or uncertainty of national exiſtence which taught them to adopt certain fixed principles of policy in reſpect to the powers and purpoſes of one

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan: Drummond.

one another, and to form themſelves into one ſyſtem, of which one part could not be maintained in that place in which it was beſt for the good of the whole that it ſhould remain,—without being nicely counterpoiſed by the others.—Scotland, remote from the centre of this ſyſtem, and relatively of ſmall magnitude, might not yet perhaps have been comprehended within it; had it not been for its cloſe vicinity to England, and for the important influence which the Engliſh had long exerciſed upon the fate of the continent. But, being thus brought within the ſphere of the general policy of the great ſtates of the middle and ſouth of Europe; the Scots had by it, perhaps, been already ſaved from being ſubjugated by their more powerful and not leſs warlike neighbours: And as the great ſtates of Europe, acquiring ſtill more and more of vigorous internal organization, became continually more ſenſible to external and reciprocal action and re-action upon one another; the Scots were drawn ſtill more into the ſame vortex, and were compelled to revolve round within the ſame ſyſtem. The weak and unfortunate adminiſtration of Henry the Sixth, the long inteſtine wars which lacerated the very heart of England, while the right to its throne was conteſted between the houſes of York and Lancaſter; had indeed reduced the Engliſh to ſuffer all their continental poſſeſſions to be wreſted from them; and

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and might ſeem to have, by conſequence, detached them from all future concern in the politics of the continent. But the connection which had ſo long ſubſiſted, was not to be thus eaſily diſſolved. The Engliſh nation were ſtill inclined to purſue their ancient enmity againſt the French:—the French, and the other inhabitants of the oppoſite ſhores of the continent, were ſtill diſpoſed to connect their intereſts with thoſe of the Engliſh, or to oppoſe them to them: The growing rivalry between France, Spain, and Auſtria, and thoſe conteſts of ambition, of which Italy was to be the theatre, were to preſent continually new reaſons to induce them to recall to the continent, the attention of the Engliſh and the Scots: While the inteſtine diſſenſions, and jealouſies of the Engliſh themſelves, and the inveterate hoſtility between the Scots and Engliſh, afforded, on the other hand, to the Sovereigns of the continent, frequent occaſions for interpoſing, to embroil the internal affairs of England, and to ſtrike out, from time to time, new ſparks of warfare between the two Britiſh nations.

Perkin Warbeck.

It was in conſequence of the exiſtence of this ſtate of the politics of Europe, that a young adventurer, ſent to diſturb the government of England, was now thrown upon James's care, and was as if he had come to bring to proof the generoſity,

generoſity, courage, and prudence, of the young Scottiſh Monarch. This adventurer was Perkin Warbeck, who had been trained by the Ducheſs of Burgundy, the ſiſter of Edward the Fourth of England, to pretend that he was the ſon of that King, and thus to excite a civil war, to dethrone Henry the Seventh, who now ſat upon the Engliſh throne. *Warbeck*, tutored by the Ducheſs of Burgundy, was well qualified for the impoſture he had undertaken to act. Neither in gracefulneſs and dignity of perſonal appearance, in elegant accompliſhments, in courage, nor in prudence, did he appear unworthy of being the ſon of a King. He came recommended from the Ducheſs of Burgundy, and from the King of France, to the Scottiſh Sovereign; the Ducheſs being unwilling to ſuffer one who valued himſelf as the repreſentative of the houſe of Lancaſter, to enjoy the Engliſh throne in peace; the King of France being deſirous to excite to Henry, domeſtic troubles, which might detain him from any invaſion of France. James received the young pretender with all the reſpect due to high birth, merit, and misfortune. *Warbeck's* perſonal qualities failed not to attach James ſtill more warmly to his cauſe. He was honourably entertained in the Scottiſh Court: the daughter of the Earl of Huntly was given him to wife: And James, with the ardent approbation of his nobility, prepared to conduct the pretended

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heir

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heir to the Engliſh crown, into his dominions, and, in diſregard of all his own engagements with Henry, to place *Warbeck* on the throne of him whom he called his father. Already had *Warbeck* failed in different attempts in Ireland, and in England: Yet, with aid ſo powerful as that of the Scottiſh nation and their King, it was hoped that he might now at length prove ſucceſsful *.

Invaſion of England.

WITH an army numerous, ardent, and well appointed, as thoſe which had been anciently led by Wallace, Bruce, and the Douglaſes; James entered Northumberland, and advanced onward without meeting any formidable oppoſition, but without being received with any thing of that favour of the Engliſh with which Warbeck had expected them to riſe and eſpouſe his cauſe. Diſappointed therefore in thoſe expectations of aid from the Engliſh themſelves, which Warbeck had taught them to conceive; James and the Scots, after waſting the open country,—upon receiving intelligence that a powerful Engliſh army was approaching,—relinquiſhed the expedition, and returned home. But, they had not long returned, when the news of a rebellion broken out againſt Henry, from Cornwall, invited them to renew the invaſion with better hopes. With an hoſt numerous as before, James again entered England; proceeded into the biſhoprick of Durham; and while he ſent out

* Lindſay: Drummond: Bacon's Henry the Seventh: Hollinſhed.

out parties of light horſemen to plunder the ſurrounding country; himſelf, with the principal body of his army, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Norham. But, Norham-caſtle, by the care of Biſhop Fox, was well garriſoned, and abundantly ſupplied with proviſions and military ſtores; while the Scottiſh army wanted the artillery requiſite for the ſiege.—James would, however, have perſiſted in his purpoſe, and might perhaps have in the end ſucceeded, had not the Earl of Surrey, in the mean time, advanced with an Engliſh army, ſo formidable, that the Scots were in prudence obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and retire into their own country, before the Engliſh ſhould come up with them.—Surrey, with this army, and almoſt all the Engliſh nobility of the northern counties, followed after.—While James with his forces were little more than a mile diſtant, Surrey aſſaulted and took the caſtle of Ayton. Some challenges to a general battle, as well as to ſingle combat, paſſed between the reſpective commanders of the two hoſts. But James, whatever his gallantry, had ſufficient prudence not to riſk an engagement, which was not abſolutely neceſſary to the ſafety of his country, and of which the iſſue might ſeem doubtful. The Scots adhered to their wonted policy; and retired before the Engliſh, till theſe having conſumed their ſtores, could no longer either advance or maintain their ground in Scotland: but were obliged to re-

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treat back to Berwick, in almoſt the ſame confuſion and diſtreſs, as if they had ſuſtained a defeat. The caſtle of Jedburgh had been levelled to the ground by Robert of Albany; that of Roxburgh, when it was taken, after the death of James the Second: There was no contiguous ſtrong place which the Engliſh might have ſeized and garriſoned: To Edinburgh or Stirling they could not make their way. There was no laſting miſchief, therefore, inflicted upon the Scots by this inroad: Berwick had remained with the Engliſh, ever ſince it was ſurrendered by the Duke of Albany, in the reign of James the Third *.

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Henry, therefore, diſappointed in whatever hopes he might have conceived of reducing the Scots to liſten with ſubmiſſion to his pleaſure, and to accept whatever terms of peace he ſhould think fit; was forced to have recourſe to the arts of negociation, in order to drive his fictitious rival, *Warbeck*, from that ſanctuary which he ſtill found in the Scottiſh Court. Peter Hialas, ambaſſador from the Spaniſh King, came at Henry's requeſt into Scotland, and in his own Sovereign's name, propoſed to mediate a truce or peace between James and Henry.—His mediation was accepted. The diſmiſſal of Warbeck was the price at which the amity of Henry was purchaſed on the part of James.—Nor was this a ſacrifice which the Scottiſh

Peace concluded between the Scots and the Engliſh.

* Hollinſhed, III.: Lindſay; Leſly; Buchannan, &c.

tiſh King could now feel a ſtrong reluctance to make. All his efforts in favour of the young impoſtor, had proved unſucceſsful: all thoſe gay proſpects which Warbeck had held out, to induce James to eſpouſe his cauſe, had been fruſtrated: James himſelf could not longer withſtand the conviction of Warbeck's impoſture: And yet honour would not allow him to deſert, for a leſs important cauſe than the welfare of his kingdom, the intereſts of a young man who had thrown himſelf, with ſeeming honour, upon his hoſpitality and protection. James, however, even diſmiſſing Warbeck, acted towards him no ungenerous part. He would not deliver him up into Henry's hand; he would not caſt him out in diſgrace, as a baſe impoſtor and fugitive. Providing veſſels for his paſſage, he ſent him away, with the ſame reſpectful farewell, as if he had been ſtill a Prince, and ſuffered him to paſs freely over into Henry's dominions in Ireland. Warbeck, after ſome ſhort ſtay among the Iriſh, paſſed over into Cornwall, and in a vain attempt to win the Engliſh crown by the aid of the Corniſh miners, fell into Henry's hands; by whom, after ſome delay in contemptuous mercy, and ſome attempts at intrigue on the part of Warbeck, this fictitious Prince was at laſt put to death. His impoſture had been before detected, and convincingly expoſed by Henry's care to undeceive ſuch of his

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ſubjects and neighbours, as might have actually ſuppoſed, that in countenancing and ſupporting Warbeck, they gave their countenance and ſupport to the ſon and only true heir of Edward the Fourth *.

Incidental circumſtances.

James, undiſturbed in his government by theſe and other ſuch tranſactions in his intercourſe with foreigners; ſtill continued to rule his kingdom in a manner ſufficiently grateful to his barons, yet which did not derogate from the majeſty of the throne, or ſacrifice any of its lawful authority. The Drummonds having, in the proſecution of one of thoſe feuds which frequently aroſe among the Scottiſh clans, burnt to death ſixteen of the Murrays in the pariſh-church of Monivaird; were ſpeedily overtaken by the ſevere vengeance of James, and puniſhed with the unforgiving firmneſs of purpoſe, which was neceſſary to repreſs ſuch barbarities. At the requeſt, probably of ſome weak-witted doctor in theology, James was induced to try the experiment of confining two infants under the care of a dumb woman, in the iſle of Inchkeith, in order to diſcover in what language they would naturally converſe, when thus deprived of all opportunity of acquiring the uſe of any artificial ſpeech; It does not appear that the reſult of the experiment turned ſo out, as

* Eoſdem.

as to give much ſatisfaction to thoſe by whom it had been ſuggeſted. Stewart, the brother of the Earl of Lennox, in the mean time covered the Scottiſh name with new glory in military affairs, while he diſtinguiſhed himſelf with extraordinary prudence and herioſm, in the wars by which the French ſtrove to win the dominion of Italy, and was even for a time exalted to the viceroyalty of Naples. From that ſtation he was driven away, by thoſe misfortunes which expelled the French from their Italian conqueſts. He afterwards returned home to Scotland, was honourably received at James's Court, and breathed his laſt in peace at Corſtorphine. Andrew Forman, too, Biſhop of Moray, being alſo abroad, in the Court of Pope Julius the Second, made himſelf acceptable to that Pontiff, by various important ſervices,—particularly by negotiating a peace between Julius and the French King; and was amply rewarded by a biſhopric in France, by a ſeat in the Sacred College of Cardinals, and by the office of Legate, with which he returned, with vicarious ſway, to rule the Scottiſh church.—A monſtrous child was, within this period, born in Scotland, which from the loins upwards, had two bodies in all reſpects perfect; but from the loins downward, but the parts of one: It poſſeſſed two different thinking powers of ſenſibility and thought: After ſurviving to the age of twenty-eight years, it died in extreme

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extreme diſtreſs, occaſioned particularly by the death of one of its bodies before the other *.

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Although ſtill unmarried; and although he had not refrained from ſome of thoſe indulgencies which tend to make young men ſometimes averſe from ſubjecting themſelves to the bonds of conjugal life; yet James was not inſenſible that his duty to his people required him to leave lawful heirs, if poſſible, to inherit his crown; and it was rather the want of a Princeſs at the neighbouring Courts, who might become his wife, than any ſettled averſion to marriage, that had held him hitherto a bachelor. The daughter of Henry the Seventh of England was now marriageable. James ſeized a ſuitable occaſion to aſk her for his bride. He was not denied. No young Monarch of the age had a higher or fairer reputation than James: there was none whoſe alliance it more imported the Engliſh King to obtain, becauſe there was none whoſe ſubjects and dominions were ſo advantageouſly ſituate for haraſſing England with continual hoſtilities, and thus diſturbing that peace which Henry delighted to cultivate. Henry, the richeſt Monarch in Europe, at leaſt in ready money, beſtowed upon James, with the hand of his daughter, the Princeſs Margaret, an ample dowry; and within a few days after the marriage of Prince Arthur of England

Marriage of James with the daughter of Henry the Seventh.

* Lindſay of Pitſcottie: Leſly: Buchanan.

England with Catharine of Arragon, Margaret was nominally eſpouſed to James of Scotland, in the cathedral church of St Paul's, in the city of London. Henry himſelf accompanied his daughter a good way on her journey. The Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, with a numerous attendance of other noblemen and ladies from England, came in her train. At a church in Lammermuir, the marriage was ſolemnly celebrated between James in perſon and the young Engliſh Princeſs. He then conducted her to Edinburgh, where the marriage was conſummated; and a long train of ſhows and feſtivities did honour to the happy occaſion which gave to James a fair partner of his throne and bed, to the Scots and Engliſh, the hopes of more laſting, mutual peace, than they had for a long while enjoyed *.

These hopes were not immediately fruſtrated. For a while, there aroſe nothing to renew thoſe wars which this happy marriage had been intended for ever to terminate. James, happy in the endearments of conjugal love, continued to cultivate with increaſing diligence and ardour, thoſe arts in which the Monarchs of Europe were, in this age, beginning partly to repoſe their glory. He beautified Falkland with new buildings, ſumptuous and magnificent beyond what the ſtate of the

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

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the arts in Scotland, beyond what its opulence could have been in this age expected to afford.

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All Europe had about this æra turned its attention to maritime affairs. The diſcoveries made by the Florentines, the Genoeſe, the Venetians from Italy, by the Portugueſe, and by the Spaniards, with the wealth which thoſe diſcoveries ſoon conferred, excited an enthuſiaſm for the adventures of navigation, little leſs ardent than that paſſion with which the people of Europe had, two centuries before, aſſumed the croſs, and haſtened away to conquer the Holy Land. Even in Scotland was this ſpirit kindled. The commerce and the fiſhing induſtry of the Scots, were already conſiderable. James's father had poſſeſſed ſome veſſels, which might, in this age, be regarded as forming no contemptible fleet. He himſelf, in conſequence of the ſucceſſes which had crowned his arms at ſea, was encouraged to pay yet more attention than his father to naval affairs. The fiſhing-trade of the Scots needed the protection of ſhips of war: And Sir Andrew Wood, diſtinguiſhed above his contemporaries, alike for naval ſkill and for courage, was ready at once to excite James to extraordinary attention to maritime power, and to command his fleets, and ſuperintend his ſhip-building. He built therefore three ſhips of extraordinary bulk, the Michael, the Margaret, and the James; fitted them out with great guns,

Scottiſh navy.

guns, and all the requiſite ſtores and implements of war, and manned them with numerous and hardy crews for the purpoſe of navigating them; who were, beſides, to receive on board ſuch numbers of ſoldiers as ſhould compoſe a formidable military force, whenever there ſhould ariſe occaſion to employ them in war. The Scottiſh fiſhing and merchant-veſſels were ſecure under their protection. The Dutch, in conſequence probably of quarrels while the ſailors of both nations were employed together in the fiſhery, declaring war at ſea againſt the Scots, and capturing and deſtroying many of their veſſels; ſuffered more than equal retaliation of the ills which they had inflicted; for James diſpatched his fleet to hover upon their coaſts, and intercept their traffic, till they made compenſation for the injuries by which they had provoked his reſentment. The Portugueſe, now powerful above all the other nations of the ſouth, in the Mediterranean ſea, and in the Atlantic ocean, for an injury formerly committed at ſea againſt the father of the gallant Bartons, ſhipmaſters of Leith, were attacked and haraſſed by the Bartons, under the protection of letters of marque granted by James, till many times the value of what they had formerly robbed the Scots of, was by force pillaged from their rich merchant-veſſels. Even the Engliſh ſetting themſelves again at variance with the Scots at ſea, were again purſued,

Quarrel with the Portugueſe.

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fued, and had their ſhips deſtroyed by thoſe bold and almoſt piratical ſailors, till the Engliſh could hardly venture to expoſe themſelves in the German ocean, or in the northern ſeas.—The Scottiſh Queen, too, during the progreſs of theſe events, bore to her huſband ſeveral children; of whom, after two ſons had died in infancy, one at laſt was deſtined to ſurvive his father, and to ſucceed him on the throne. No accidents aroſe to raiſe James's nobility in arms againſt him: Hume was content to adminiſter, as Chamberlain, the affairs of the royal domains upon the border: Bothwell, equally ſatisfied with the rewards and the impunity he had obtained, grew old, and died, without engaging in any new rebellion: Angus, too, reſted in the place which it became him to fill, without aſpiring above the bounds of a ſubject's power, or a ſubject's duty. Juſtice was ſtill vigorouſly adminiſtered. The Baron of Thornton having murdered his own wife, was, without reſpect to his rank or fortune, publicly beheaded at Edinburgh, in puniſhment for ſo horrible a crime, violating all the bonds, the endearments, and the ſecurities of the moſt intimately familiar and domeſtic life. Other crimes were puniſhed with a rigour equally ſalutary: The licence, particularly of the borderers, was reſtrained: Frequent parliaments were aſſembled, to correct and enlarge the code of the laws; to confirm continually the authority of law, in

in oppoſition to wild, irregular, and deſultory force; and to provide for the new exigencies of the times, as theſe continually aroſe. Twice did James's piety and conjugal affection move him to go in pilgrimage,—at one time on foot to the ſhrine of St Ninian, at Whithorn in Galloway; at another on horſeback, to St Duthac's, in the ſhire of Roſs.—So extraordinary was the hardy activity to which he had accuſtomed himſelf, that he rode in one day from Stirling, by Perth and Aberdeen, as far as to Elgin; a diſtance of not leſs than an hundred and thirty miles; and after ſtretching himſelf to ſleep for a few hours of the night, ſimply on a bare board, proceeded next morning, by day-break, forty miles farther to St Duthac's, where he was preſent at the uſual hour for divine ſervice.—He neglected not, amid theſe things, the care of framing ſuch artillery as might be wanted to give his forces due advantage when they ſhould come to face their enemies on the field of battle. His maſter-gunner, Robert Borthwick, formed for him, in Edinburgh-caſtle, ſome cannons of extraordinary magnitude, of which not a few long after remained in the kingdom. New honours were conferred upon him from Rome, by Pope Julius the Second, with the hope probably of detaching the Scots from the ancient alliance with France, to which Julius was at this time hoſtile.

James's devotion and activity.

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hoſtile. The Kings of France and England, too, ſeemed at the ſame time to vie with one another for James's favour, and to contend, who ſhould the moſt diligently cultivate his alliance by frequent embaſſies, by preſents, and by every means which they could conceive to be at all acceptable to ſo gallant and ſo wiſe a Prince. Amid thoſe amuſements of Chivalry, which he ſtill delighted to encourage at his Court, James himſelf would not rarely enter the liſts, in diſguiſe; and never did he enter the liſts, without approving himſelf victor over every opponent. Amid thoſe feuds, which in ſpite of all the vigilance and energy of his government, would ſometimes break forth, Maxwell of Caerlaverock, and Crichton of Sanquhar, the two moſt powerful barons of Nithſdale, after long enmity, and many petty injuries mutually inflicted; at length met in arms, with their reſpective friends and dependents, on the ſands of Dumfries; and there fought with the moſt obſtinate rage, till the two parties had almoſt mutually cut each other off, although Maxwell remained at laſt the joyleſs victor. An earthquake ſhook the whole iſland; comets blazing in the ſky, ſeemed to the eye of ſuperſtition to portend misfortunes to which they had no real reference: That ſweating ſickneſs, which, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century; made terrible havock in England; extending its ravages alſo to Scotland, and cutting

Fight on the ſands of Dumfries.

ting off chiefly, the young, the ſtrong, the luxurious, and the gay; hence acquired from the Scotiſh peaſantry the denomination of *Stoop-gallant* *. A. D. 1488 to 1520.

The politics of the continent were again to divide James from the intereſts of that family out of which he had obtained a wife, and to renew the war between the Scots and the Engliſh. Italy was the prize for which the Kings of France and Spain compared their relative ſtrengths, and oppoſed one another in war. Thus oppoſed, they ſtrove naturally, each for himſelf, to draw their neighbours and allies into the conteſt. The politic, the peaceful, the avaricious Henry the Seventh of England, had his hands too full at home, and was too much averſe from the waſte of war, to take any earneſt part in thoſe contentions of his neighbours. But Henry the Seventh was now no more. His kingdoms and his treaſures were inherited by his only ſon Henry the Eighth, who aſpired to diſtinguiſh himſelf by laviſhing his father's treaſures, by involving himſelf in thoſe ſplendid purſuits of war and policy which his father had wiſely avoided, and by exalting to the abſoluteneſs of deſpotiſm, that feudal authority which his father had left him. Henry, flattered with extravagant notions of the immenſity of his wealth, of the greatneſs of his authority and power,

Engliſh & continental politics.

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

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power, and of the unrivalled ſuperiority of his perſonal accompliſhments; was deſtined to purſue through life, plans of policy in reſpect to his intercourſe with foreign nations, which gradually brought contempt and diſhonour upon his councils, as upon the people over whom he reigned; as well as to make the Engliſh nation continually the victim of his furious temper, and of his private paſſions, while he himſelf was to be ever the tool of his miſtreſſes and his courtiers. Henry was to be in government, what a ſtout yet cowardly ſwaggerer is in valour; what a weak, talkative man, deſtitute of tender affections, yet not without furious ſelfiſh paſſions, is in the ordinary conduct of life. In this ſpirit he was ſoon perſuaded by his father-in-law, Ferdinand King of Spain, to declare war againſt France, and to attempt the reconquering of thoſe continental provinces which had been conquered and wreſted from the Engliſh Crown during the unfortunate reign of Henry the Sixth. To ſtrengthen themſelves againſt this new danger from ſo formidable a foe, the French ſent an embaſſy into Scotland, for the purpoſe of exciting James to depart from that neutrality which he had reſolved to obſerve between his brother-in-law and the ancient allies of his crown. Forman and Stewart were either the principal ambaſſadors of this negotiation, or at leaſt came from France to promote its ſucceſs at the Scottiſh Court. Both were

were subjects equally of the King of France and of the King of Scotland; and they were both therefore interested to make the influence of the French alliance predominate over that of England, at the Scottish Court. Yet James, assiduously courted even by the high-minded and insolent Henry, and finding himself in a situation in which he was able to hold the balance between France and England; long hesitated between the two rival alliances; long cherished his purpose of maintaining a strict neutrality; and had it not been for the general voice of the nation, and for the calls which were loudly addressed to his honour, as a faithful and generous knight, would have avoided the war. Even after he was thus earnestly excited, James still hesitated and delayed. His Queen employed all her influence over his heart in favour of England. There was in his Court and kingdom, a party who were devoted to the English interests: And Henry was willing to purchase the amity, or even the neutrality of Scotland, at a dearer price than the French could pay. But, the influence of Forman, the call of Anne Queen of France, who named James her knight, and the voice of the nation, faithful to ancient friendships, as to ancient enmities, prevailed at length; and James determined to lend his aid to Lewis, and to make war upon his brother-in-law *.

Having

* Hollinshed: Hebert: Lesly: Lindsay: Buchanan.

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Having taken his determination, James inſtantly ſent a herald to denounce war againſt Henry, unleſs this proud King would ceaſe from the hoſtilities which he had already commenced againſt James's continental allies. The Scottiſh fleet of three ſhips of war, was at the ſame time equipped, and ſent under the command of Hamilton, Earl of Arran, with a great force of landſmen as well as ſailors on board, to ſail to the aid of the French, and to make the moſt deſperate oppoſition at ſea to the Engliſh. Hamilton, however, whether unwilling to purſue the expedition, or driven perhaps about by contrary winds, inſtead of proceeding on his voyage to France, ſailed weſtward to Ireland, burnt Carrickfergus with two or three villages, and then returned into the Bay of Ayr. James no ſooner received notice of this delay on the part of the commander of his fleet, than he threatened the ſevereſt vengeance upon Hamilton, which a Sovereign could inflict; and diſpatched Sir Andrew Wood, with ſome other gentlemen, to aſſume the command, and haſten to the aid of his continental allies. But Hamilton, aware of his Sovereign's wrath, and being ſtill ſecure on board the ſhips; refuſed to reſign the command, again ſet ſail, and promiſed yet to accompliſh that ſervice for which the expedition had been originally fitted out *.

Scottiſh fleet ſent to aid the French.

James's

* Lindſay: Leſly: Drummond.

James's ſoul was now on fire. He received from France a ſmall ſubſidy of fourteen thouſand crowns: He had pledged his honour to ſupport with timely aid, the ancient allies of his Crown: Henry had irritated his mind with the moſt paſſionate reſentment, by the angry contempt with which he replied to his denunciations of war. He trembled leſt his fleet ſhould not arrive within due time, to be of uſe to the French againſt the Engliſh: He was impatient to ſhew to the former, that he could be a valuable friend; to the latter, that he was no deſpicable foe: His heart and his imagination were inflamed with almoſt all the romantic enthuſiaſm of knight-errantry. In this temper of mind, he ſummoned his military vaſſals to attend him in arms. Reſolved to invade England at the head of an irreſiſtible force, he had directed his ſummons to all between the ages of ſixteen and ſixty years, whether belonging to Scotland, or to its ſubject-iſles: The Borough-moor of Edinburgh was the appointed place of rendezvous: forty days, the term of ſervice for which they were to come provided. Various artifices addreſſed to James's ſuperſtition and to his love were in the mean time employed by the Queen and the Engliſh faction, yet to diſconcert, and if poſſible to prevent the threatened invaſion. In vain. James's purpoſe was fixed; his paſſions were inflamed: Every

James prepares to invade England.

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hour seemed to him an age, till he could display his proweſs in ſome illuſtrious deeds of arms againſt the Engliſh. His ſummons was obeyed. Out of all the diſtricts of Scotland, his nobles with their followers, clad in arms, haſtened to the appointed rendezvous on the Borough-moor. An immenſe hoſt was there muſtered: They were all ardent and well appointed: and James poſſeſſed a large train of artillery, with abundance of ammunition, and all the requiſite military ſtores which were all to be employed in this grand enterpriſe. With high hopes, this army took their march to the eaſtern borders of England. They croſſed the Tweed. It was not merely an enterpriſe of devaſtation and ſpoil, on which they had come. The caſtles of Werk, Norham, Ford, and Etall, with every fortalice and ſtrong place on the Northumbrian borders were beſieged, taken, and demoliſhed, by the irreſiſtible aſſault of the Scottiſh artillery. Yet, although thus finally taken and demoliſhed, theſe caſtles made a more formidable and obſtinate defence than had been expected, and thus retarded the progreſs of the invaders, till their own proviſions, with whatever the ſurrounding country afforded, were almoſt wholly conſumed; and till news was brought, that the Earl of Surrey was advancing with a powerful army, to give them battle *.

Surrey comes, to oppoſe the invaſion.

Thus

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

Thus far ſucceſsful, yet unavoidably involved in difficulties, James now found himſelf obliged to permit many of his hoſt to depart home, for the purpoſe of bringing new proviſions for themſelves and their companions. Without aſking his permiſſion, the reſt ſtill went off in multitudes from day to day, till of an army which had once amounted almoſt to an hundred thouſand men, hardly fifteen thouſand now remained with their King. It was known that Surrey and the Engliſh army were advancing; but how far they had advanced, by what route they were approaching, what was the preciſe plan of the operations which they purſued, —this could not be certainly learned. In theſe circumſtances, James could not advance; retreat he would not; to remain longer in the ſituation in which he then lay, without coming into action, threatened ruin to all his hopes; for the diſtreſs for want of proviſions became every day greater: And as the term of forty days, during which alone for the year, were his military vaſſals obliged to ſerve him in arms, had nearly expired; it ſeemed probable that he might be deſerted by all his followers, before he could atchieve any thing memorable againſt the Engliſh. The old Earl of Angus, and others of his barons, therefore, counſelled him earneſtly, to take that ſafe part which the Scots had been accuſtomed to adopt on ſimilar occaſions, to retire back within his own territories,

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and ſuffer the Engliſh to advance after him, till they ſhould run into the ſame difficulties in which he was then entangled. This counſel, James's high ſenſe of honour as of ſhame, prompted him to reject with inexpreſſible tranſports of indignation. Had not a man remained with him, yet would not he himſelf have yielded to turn his back upon his foes. The Engliſh in the mean time came on, but found the Scots ſo ſtrongly poſted on an high ground, on the banks of the river Till, with the Cheviot mountains towering up to protect them behind, with the river on their right, with a moraſs on their left, with their artillery ſo diſpoſed as to cover their front, that Surrey beheld their encampment in deſpair, as abſolutely impregnable, and relinquiſhed all hopes of victorious battle, but what might be ſtill encouraged by the known impetuoſity and raſhneſs of the Scots; or by the knowledge of their diſtreſs for want of proviſions. In theſe circumſtances, he turned all his efforts to intercept the Scottiſh foraging parties, and by ſkilful marches and countermarches, to alarm them with the apprehenſion, that he intended to elude their vigilance, and advance by a different route into Berwickſhire; leaving them to ravage the reſt of Northumberland at their pleaſure. The contrivance ſucceeded. The Scots impatiently left their impregnable encampment, and wandered about in uncertain ſearch

The Scots and Engliſh meet on the Cheviot hills.

ſearch for the enemy, till they aſcended the heights of Flowden, and thence beheld the Engliſh occupying the ſtreights beneath, in a manner that ſeemed as if the purpoſe were to hem them in, and thus ſubdue them without a battle. This ſight was all that James required. He deſcended upon the ſubjacent plain, and drew out his forces in battle-array, in oppoſition to the Engliſh *.

Battle of Flowden.

By this time the Scottiſh army was little more than half as numerous as that of the Engliſh. James arranged them for the battle in four diviſions. The right wing was led on by the Earls of Hume and Huntly: The left was commanded by the Earl of Lennox, and Campbell of Argyle: In the centre was the King himſelf: Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, with the foot-ſoldiers of Lothian formed a body of reſerve, deſtined to aid the Scots, and to renew the battle wherever they ſhould appear to be overpowered by the impulſe of the enemy. Howard, the eldeſt ſon of Surrey, commanded the foremoſt column of the Engliſh hoſt: Surrey himſelf was in the centre: Sir Edward Stanley was at the head of the right wing: Almoſt all the nobles of the northern counties of England, and all the beſt ſoldiers who had not followed their King to the continent, fought in the army. The right wing of the Scots, commanded by Hume and Huntly, began the battle, by attacking the foremoſt

* Leſly: Lindſay: Hollinſhed: Hebert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII.

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foremoſt diviſion of the Engliſh, which was led by Lord Howard. This was the flower of the Scottiſh ſoldiery: And their impulſe was irreſiſtible: The Engliſh who oppoſed them were almoſt all quickly cut in pieces, or diſperſed. But on the left wing, the fate of the Scots was reverſed: Lennox and Argyle both periſhed: Their followers were ſlain and ſcattered with terrible deſtruction; and the Engliſh column to which they had been oppoſed, were ſoon ready to reinforce the central column, where Surrey himſelf led on the main battle. The central diviſions of the two armies had by this time joined in cloſe fight. The Scottiſh King himſelf fought in the fore-front of the battle; performing at once the part of a ſkilful general, and of the braveſt and ſtouteſt of ſoldiers. But the Engliſh were here far more numerous than the Scots who fought againſt them: Hume and Huntley ſatisfied with what they had done, returned not to aid their King: Hepburn led not up thoſe freſh troops which he had held in reſerve, to await the progreſs of the battle. James exerted the moſt deſperate valour: All his young nobles, who fought by his ſide, vied with their Sovereign, in the bold expoſure of their perſons, and in the moſt heroic exertions of their proweſs. Alas! they fought in vain. The archers of Sir Edward Stanley's diviſion of the Engliſh, ſo ſorely galled them, that it ſoon became

came impoſſible for them to make any adequate impreſſion on Surrey's ſpearmen, to whom they were more directly oppoſed. And in the mean while, the Engliſh body of reſerve being conducted around on horſeback, by Dacres their commander, incloſed the Scots, ſo that there was no room for them to recede. James and his brave companions, when they ſaw all their hopes thus cut off, determined to accept no quarter, but to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. In the new energy and courage which they thus derived from deſpair, they had almoſt penetrated through the Engliſh hoſt. But againſt that mighty odds which now overpowered them, it was not poſſible that they ſhould finally ſucceed. Huntley, with ſo many of his followers as he could yet aſſemble, returned into the battle, to ſuccour and ſave his king, but came too late. James had periſhed, and with him his baſtard ſon, Alexander, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, the favourite pupil of the illuſtrious Eraſmus, and by him praiſed as the moſt promiſing young man of the age. Of all who had fought in the ſame ranks with the King, few had deigned to accept quarter, few had deigned to outlive their heroic Sovereign.—Such had been on both ſides the general carnage, and ſo nearly equal was now the fortune of the battle, that had James but ſurvived, the victory had aſſuredly been his. Hume, whoſe too eager purſuit of

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those who fled before him in the beginning of the engagement, may seem the chief cause of the loss of the battle,—had now rallied the broken remains of the Scottish army, and with a considerable force rested all night on the field of battle: But Surrey and Howard rested also there: And ere the morning, the knowledge of the events of the battle, had so exalted the confidence of the English, so entirely depressed that of the Scots; that the latter fled in haste with the morning-light; and the former, although they dared not to follow in pursuit, yet remained masters of the field of battle, of the baggage, and of the artillery of the Scots, which they soon conveyed in triumph to the contiguous town of Berwick. The battle of Flowden was fought on the ninth day of September, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirteen. James perished in the thirty-ninth year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his reign; leaving behind him two infant sons, James, who was afterwards to succeed him on the throne, and Alexander, duke of Ross, who did not, for more than two or three years survive his father *.

A. D. 1513.

Character of James IV.

James was a man eminently qualified to rule a martial people, such as were the Scots under his reign. His dexterity and skill in every manly exercise; his passion for glory; his enthusiastic fondness for the pomp and gallantry of chivalry; that activity

* Lindsay: Lesly, &c. &c.

activity of ſpirit, which diſpoſed him to continual vigilance and exertion in the adminiſtration of his own authority; that wiſe adherence to ancient allies, which hurried him to a premature death; were altogether ſuch an aſſemblage of qualities, as might well deſerve that high eſtimation with which he was regarded by foreign Kings and nations, no leſs than by his own ſubjects. His attention to maritime affairs, and his formation of ſo conſiderable a fleet, beſpeak an enlargement of mind which was worthy of a great Prince. None indeed but a man of extraordinary talents, could have maintained the authority of the crown without irritating the nobles, in circumſtances ſuch as thoſe in which James commenced his reign. The guilt which he had unadviſedly contracted by taking arms againſt his father, affected his conſcience with a remorſe which would probably have been ſtill more deep and poignant, had it not been for the deluſive and flattering repreſentations of thoſe about him,—and which ſeems to have been the ſpring of that extraordinary proneneſs to ſuperſtition, which marked his manners throughout all his ſubſequent life. In penance for that guilt, he is related to have ever afterwards worn upon his naked waiſt, an iron chain, diſtinguiſhing his contrition of heart, and affecting him as a continual puniſhment. He

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may be regarded as a Prince in almoſt all reſpects ſuperior to his father. But it ſeems doubtful, whether his talents or accompliſhments could have entitled him ever to rank with his grandfather and great-grandfather, James the Second and James the Firſt. While he continued to live in celibacy, he had engaged in too many looſe amours. He had no fewer than five baſtard children, by four different maidens whom he debauched.

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Chapter V.

The Reign of James V.

James's premature fall was to be ſtill more ſo, on account of the intereſts of his family and of his kingdom, than for the ſake of any future enjoyments and honours to himſelf, from the hopes of which it cut him off. Such a ſucceſſion of minorities upon the throne, continually defeated every plan for exalting the regal authority, and for eſtabliſhing it upon a baſis on which it might thenceforth ſtand unſhaken by all the turbulent aſſaults of the barons. The royal family could never acquire due ſtrength, while no father ſurvived long enough on the throne, —to ſee his ſons educated to manhood, and no longer

Political ſtate of Scotland at the æra of the acceſſion of James V.

longer liable to be uſed merely as tools in the hands of a ſelfiſh and ambitious nobility. If the ſplendour of the Earls of Douglas had vaniſhed; yet from among the vaſſals of that potent family, had ſprung up the Humes, who, although inferior in power and opulence, were, however, at leaſt equally turbulent, and equally ambitious: from among its younger branches had ariſen the houſe of Angus, whoſe chiefs ſeemed emulous to run the ſame career which the Earls of Douglas had run before them. That ſame ſpirit which had rendered the nobles of the ſouthern counties diſobedient and ſeditious, in the ſame proportion in which they were pre-eminently martial and brave; ſtill prevailed among them, and made them a nuiſance to the civil order of the ſtate, while they were a wall of defence againſt its ſouthern foes. That diviſion of the barons into two factions, which was occaſioned by the adherence of one part of them to James the Third, while the other roſe in rebellion againſt him, had not even hitherto been wholly extinguiſhed. New feuds, and new competitions of intereſt, could not fail to revive, and vary, and exaſperate the hoſtilities of theſe factions in a thouſand ways. And, while the laws and the eſtate of the Crown were thus left virtually without a guardian; and while the executive authority was thus in ſome meaſure reſigned, for a while into the hands of the aſſembled community, or rather of the individuals of

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whom it was compoſed: It could not be but that the ſplendour of the Crown ſhould in theſe circumſtances be impaired: It was impoſſible that the laws ſhould not loſe much of that efficacy which they had begun to poſſeſs: It was unavoidable, that many diſorders of faction and of ſedition ſhould break out over the whole kingdom *.

James the Fifth, when he ſucceeded to the royal authority, was not more than a year and five months of age. The firſt meaſure adopted for conducting the government, appears to have ſprung from the general terror of the Engliſh which now prevailed, and even in part from a new neceſſity created by the ſlaughter of almoſt all that was illuſtrious among the Scottiſh nobles, on Flowden-Field. The Queen was nominated to the regency, and to the tuition of her ſon; an example hitherto unknown among the Scots. A Council were indeed appointed to aſſiſt her with their advice; but the ultimate adminiſtration of the ſupreme authority was confided to her own hands ſolely. Beaton, Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; Huntley, who had eſcaped alive out of the battle of Flowden; and the old Earl of Angus, who left the hoſt before the battle; were the men nominated to compoſe this Council. The Earl of Arran, the ſon of the aunt of the late King, arriving ſoon after out of France, was then added to their number

Eſtabliſhment of the adminiſtration under the infant King.

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan, &c.

number. He had loſt the fleet with which he ſailed to France; and had wholly fruſtrated the purpoſe for which it was fitted out. Had James the Fourth ſtill ſurvived, Arran would unqueſtionably have met death and confiſcation, as the reward of ſuch ſervices. They were the miſeries of the times which reſtored him to honour *.

The firſt act of Margaret's regency, was—to ſend a ſuppliant embaſſy to her brother Henry,—to lament that error of her late huſband, which had impelled him to take up arms againſt England, and to avert by humble deprecations that terrible vengeance which it was dreaded that Henry might command his victorious armies now to inflict upon the proſtrate Scots. Henry's pride had been fully gratified by the event of the battle of Flowden: It was not conſiſtent, either with the preſent projects of his vain ambition, or with the real intereſts of his kingdom, to proſecute any ſcheme for the conqueſt of Scotland: He ſuffered the emotions of pity, and of fraternal affection, therefore, to prevail; and granted to his ſiſter, and her infant ſon, that peace which was in their name implored from him. The ſucceſs of this negotiation conferred new power and popularity upon Margaret. Saved from ruin by the generous forbearance of the Engliſh Sovereign, the kingdom of Scotland ſeemed as if it would now

* Eoſdem.

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now fall into a voluntary dependence upon his power, and reſt grateful under his protection *.

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But Margaret was as yet a young and beautiful woman; and ſhe was ſurrounded in her Court by youthful and amorous nobles, whoſe fathers had fallen on Flowden-Field. Among theſe, the handſomeſt, the moſt gallant and accompliſhed, as well as the moſt eminent in wealth and political influence, was young Archibald Douglas, now Earl of Angus: His father had fallen in the battle of Flowden: his grandfather, the elder Archibald, had not many months ſurvived it. Young Angus quickly perſuaded Margaret to forget the reverence due to the memory of James the Fourth, to lay aſide the pride of the ſiſter of Henry the Eighth, and without conſulting her brother, or the Eſtates of the kingdom of which ſhe was Queen-regent, to accept him for her ſecond huſband. Angus, an aſpiring young man, leſs amorous than ambitious, fancied that he had, by this marriage, ſecured to himſelf the adminiſtration of the ſovereign power, during the minority of the infant King. But the Scottiſh nobles, naturally averſe to endure the regency of a woman, were ſoon enraged to ſee, that authority thus ſeized by one of themſelves, which they had reluctantly intruſted to the ſiſter of Henry, in order to conciliate her brother's favour. Hamilton

Riſe and progreſs of party-conteſts.

* Buchanan: Hebert's Hiſtory of Henry VIII.: Hollinſhed. Leſly: Lindſay, &c.

ton and Beaton, the Earl of Arran, and the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, would not ſuffer that the Douglaſes ſhould again exalt themſelves above every other noble family in the kingdom. Even Hume, the intereſts of whoſe family had been long cloſely united with thoſe of the houſe of Angus, began to view with anxious jealouſy, the towering fortune, and lofty hopes of the huſband of the Queen-regent. Every act of the new government was now thwarted, and regarded with diſcontent. Party-intereſts were partially ſerved by the exertion of the royal power: And private perſons took it upon them to gratify their own humours, to ſtudy their own intereſts, without reſpect to the legal authority of the government, or to the wiſhes of the rulers. The unfortunate vacancy of the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's, the laſt poſſeſſor of which, the natural ſon of James the Fourth, had periſhed with his father, preſented a prize ſufficiently powerful to attract into colliſion all the ambitious, all the angry, and all the avaricious paſſions of every party. Gavin Douglas, uncle to Angus, and Biſhop of Dunkeld; John Hepburn, Prior of the monaſtery of St Andrew's; and Andrew Forman, Biſhop of Moray; were all together preferred to the Archbiſhoprick: Douglas, by the preſentation of the Queen; Hepburn, by the election of the Chapter; Forman by the appointment of the Pope. The modeſt

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modeſt Douglas ſoon withdrew his pretenſions. But Hepburn being already, in ſome ſort, in poſſeſſion of the temporalities of the ſee, would not ſo eaſily relinquiſh his hold. Forman, however, arrived with the Pope's bull in his favour; and could he but procure this bull to be proclaimed publicly in Scotland, it muſt of neceſſity be obeyed. Hepburn, protected and encouraged by all the kindred and wellwiſhers of the family of Bothwell, vigorouſly oppoſed every attempt of Forman to aſſert his rights. At laſt, however, Forman procured the powerful Earl of Hume to eſpouſe his cauſe, and to publiſh his bull. Hepburn was obliged to agree to a compromiſe, by which he reſigned all his claims upon the archbiſhoprick, yet was liberally gratified with money and benefices, by Forman, the moſt opulent eccleſiaſtic of the age. But the contention thus excited, the reluctant agreement by which it was terminated, the thouſand animoſities which had been kindled up and inflamed amidſt its progreſs; being thus added to thoſe other jealouſies and conteſts which had before begun to prevail; ſeemed all together to render it impoſſible for the government of the kingdom to be by any means longer adminiſtered under its preſent eſtabliſhment. That party who favoured the intereſts of France, in preference to thoſe of England, combining with thoſe who envied the exaltation of Angus, and with thoſe who earneſtly

earneſtly deſired a more energetic, efficient government; propoſed to recall from France, the ſon of the late Duke of Albany, the couſin of James the Fourth; and to commit to him the regency of the kingdom, and the tuition of its young Monarch. He was the next heir to the crown; and it ſeemed to be but reaſonable that he ſhould be invited home, to await the chance of the ſucceſſion: He was a ſtranger, and would therefore view all parties with equal impartiality: He was the ſubject of the French King; and would preſerve the ancient alliance between the French and the Scottiſh nations, in its full force. The Queen and her huſband could not reſiſt a meaſure ſo ſalutary, and ſo loudly called for. Even Hume, who enjoyed thoſe eſtates which Albany's father had once poſſeſſed,—whoſe family had chiefly promoted thoſe meaſures which drove the former Duke of Albany out of Scotland; was inconſiderately led to preſs the moſt urgently for the recall of his ſon. An embaſſy was ſent to invite him home; and his arrival was by all impatiently expected *.

The Duke of Albany arrives in Scotland.

On the tenth day of May, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifteen, the Duke of Albany arrived in the frith of Clyde,—attended by a troop of five hundred ſoldiers, among whom were twenty-four gentlemen,—and bringing with

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſſes.

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him—twelve pieces of great artillery, with conſiderable ſtores of ammunition, and ſmall arms of different ſorts. At Dumbarton, he was received by an eager and frequent concourſe of all the moſt eminent among thoſe barons who had ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the power of the Queen-dowager and her conſort. From Dumbarton, they conducted him in a pompous progreſs to Glaſgow, where he was for ſome days entertained at the palace of the Archbiſhop, and amuſed with every feſtive exhibition with which the Scots were accuſtomed to grace their entertainments. From Glaſgow he proceeded to Edinburgh, at which a parliamentary aſſembly of the Scottiſh freeholders had been already ſummoned to convene in the enſuing month of July. The parliament aſſembled. Queen Margaret reſigned the regency. The Duke of Albany was inveſted with all its authority and honours. Thoſe acts were abrogated, by which the father of Albany had been, in the reign of James the Third, condemned to the forfeiture of a traitor, and the earldom of March, the wardenſhip of the borders, the caſtle of Dunbar, and all the private eſtate of his father, were, to the confuſion of the Humes, now reſtored to the Regent. He ſignalized his entrance upon this high office by ſome acts of grace, and ſome of ſtern juſtice: James, the baſtard ſon of the late King, obtained the earldom of Moray: Peter Moffat, a daring ruffian,

He aſſumes the regency.

ruffian, who had been guilty of many flagitious crimes, was condemned to death: A new compromise was negotiated with Archbishop Forman, by which he resigned to the disposal of the Regent, some others of those numerous benefices which he had engrossed: the chief of the Drummonds, for contemptuously striking the Lion-herald, was deprived of all his possessions; the restoration of which was not till after several days, and with great difficulty, obtained for him. The nobles beholding with what firmness Albany grasped the reins of government, were astonished at their own work. Levity, not wisdom; aversion to the government of the Queen, not the desire of a more vigorous administration; had induced them to invite home Albany to govern them. When they saw that his authority would not be feebly exercised; when they found, that he would not lend himself to the private interests of this or that party; they already half-repented of what they had done; and began to conspire in new cabals against him *.

Cabals against Albany.

Hume, whose power on the borders was now to be reduced within due bounds; Arran, his brother-in-law, a man destined to be the tool of others, and who had been discontented ever since his own pretensions to the regency were slighted; Lennox, the sister's son of Arran; were soon inflamed

* Eosdem quos supra, &c.

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flamed, all, with almoſt one common hoſtility, againſt the Regent. But before he was aware of their purpoſes, a ſudden rumour alarmed him with the ſuggeſtion, that the Queen and her huſband were about to withdraw ſecretly, carrying the young King with them, into England. With an activity fitted to fruſtrate the deſign, if it had been at all conceived; he marched with an armed force by night, from Edinburgh to Stirling, where the Queen, with her huſband and children, then reſided; beſet the caſtle with his troops; and compelled Margaret to deliver her two infant ſons into his hands. Hume now openly took part with Angus; and Hume, Angus, and Queen Margaret, thinking themſelves no longer ſafe while within the power of Albany, fled, all three with one accord, towards England. While the Queen-dowager and her huſband found an honourable reception in the dominions of her brother; Hume returning among his own vaſſals, began to exerciſe various acts of hoſtility againſt thoſe of his neighbours who owned the Regent's power. The caſtle of Dunbar had been already occupied by the Regent's ſervants in his name; but Hume obſtinately refuſed to ſurrender the earldom of March, which had ſo long remained in the power of his family. Albany, with a promptitude and energy of conduct worthy of the deſcendant of James the Firſt, inſtantly procured Hume to be condemned

demned by the parliament, as guilty of treaſon, and his eſtates to be confiſcated; and then, with an army of nearly ten thouſand men, marched towards the borders, to execute that ſentence which he had procured to be pronounced. The rebel baron was unprepared to meet ſo powerful a force in arms; and ſaw therefore no reſource left for him, but to throw himſelf upon his adverſary's mercy. Albany, forgiving in part the puniſhment due to his guilt, was ſatisfied with ſending him into confinement in Edinburgh, under the cuſtody of Arran, whoſe conduct had not yet been openly ſuch as to excite the Regent's ſuſpicions *.

Albany might fancy that he had his enemy now inextricably entangled within his toils; but he was quickly to be undeceived. The priſoner and his keeper ſoon fled together: and had ſoon, with their dependents, raiſed the ſtandard of rebellion in the counties of the weſt. Angus forſaking the Queen, returned out of England to join them. Making Glaſgow their principal place of rendezvous, they ſeized ſome military ſtores newly landed for the Regent in the frith of Clyde, and reſolved to proſecute their quarrel in arms, till the late attainders ſhould be reverſed, and the ruler whoſe government they could not endure,

* Lindſay: Leſly: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, &c.

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endure, ſhould be compelled to depart out of the kingdom. But Albany met this alarm and theſe dangers with the ſame prudent and vigorous activity which he had before diſplayed. Many of the other barons either joined Hume, Angus, and Arran, at Glaſgow, or at leaſt delayed to give their ſupport to the Regent againſt thoſe inſurgents. But he had ſtill at his command, thoſe gallant men who had accompanied him from France; Lennox, too, had not been carried away from the Court with his uncle; and Erſkine, to whom the immediate tuition of the young King had been, by Albany, intruſted, was ready ſtill to ſupport the authority of the Prince by whom he had been ſo highly advanced. With ſuch a force, therefore, as he could readily muſter, he marched into the weſt againſt the rebels. At his approach they diſperſed themſelves in terror. But he then laid ſiege to the caſtle of Hamilton, and would have taken and razed it to the ground, had not his aunt, the mother of Hamilton, and—Archbiſhop Forman, now old in conciliatory negotiations,—interpoſed at once to mitigate his anger, and to perſuade the Earl of Arran to throw himſelf upon his mercy. Arran was thus pardoned, and received again into the Regent's favour. The interpoſition of the King of England afterwards procured the ſame remiſſion for Hume and Angus, although

Succeſs of the Regent againſt the inſurgents.

although not till Angus had firſt fled for ſafety into France *.

The inſurgency renewed.

But the rebellious nobles were not yet either cordially reconciled to the government of Albany, or convinced that it was impoſſible for them to ſubvert his power. Their rebellion had probably, although pardoned, brought ſome new grievances upon them, in puniſhment for its guilt. And they were not yet willing to ſit down ſo much humbled and impoveriſhed, without once more riſking all that remained to them, for the chance of recovering what they had loſt. Arran, Lennox, and Glencairn, took up arms, and fortifying the caſtle of Dumbarton, and others in the weſt, againſt the Regent, prepared to oppoſe his authority more vigorouſly than had been done before. The object to which they openly aſpired, was, to diſplace Albany, and to exalt Arran to the regency in his ſtead. But the Humes, whoſe patrimony was the moſt at ſtake, were ſtill probably the ſecret movers of the whole. Again, however, the Regent muſtered a force ſufficient to overawe the rebels: Again were they reduced to ſeek their ſafety in ſubmiſſion: Again did he find it requiſite to diſſemble his wrath, and to grant the forgiveneſs which they aſked †.

This

* Eoſdem. † Leſly, &c.

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This reconciliation was perhaps on all hands insincere. Hume returned to his possessions on the borders, quickly renewed his opposition to the Regent's authority on the marches. Lennox still held the castle of Dumbarton; which was at this time of extraordinary importance,—because it was from the frith of Clyde that the Scottish ships often sailed to France, while the English were masters in the eastern seas. Arran alone, who was destined to be still a tool in the hands of others, seems to have now at last fallen wholly under the influence of his cousin Albany. Queen Margaret in England, in the mean time urged her brother Henry, to interpose in the affairs of Scotland, to expel Albany out of the kingdom, and restore herself and her friends to that power in which they had once hoped to maintain themselves during her son's minority. The faction of the Humes secretly corresponded with the English; and it was only the inconsiderate fury of their passions, and their want of discernment and prudence, which prevented them from overthrowing that authority which Albany strove so hard to maintain. Albany's earnest desire at present was, to obtain a parliamentary recognition of his right to the regal succession, if the young King should die without offspring; for Alexander, the second surviving child of James the Fourth, who was indeed born after his father's death, had already died of one

Farther progress of national affairs.

of

of the diſeaſes commonly incident to children. But the intereſts of Queen Margaret, the intereſts even of Arran, led them not only to oppoſe the recognition of his right to the regal ſucceſſion, but to exclude him from the regency, and from the kingdom. While his adverſaries intrigued thus to overthrow his power; and while he was ſecretly procuring means to intrap and diſarm them: the Regent in the mean time, continued to exerciſe the functions of government ſtill with the ſame energy as before. Robertſon of Strowan having waſted Athole with atrocious depredations of robbery and ſlaughter, was beheaded at Logieraite. In his juſticiary progreſſes, Albany exerciſed that unſparing ſeverity of puniſhment which the laws authorized, and the manners of the people required, but which hardly even James the Fourth himſelf had dared ſo uniformly to inflict. Particular families and individuals might be offended by this ſeverity, but its effects were ſo ſtrikingly ſalutary, that it did not fail to recommend his adminiſtration to the eſteem of the nation in general *.

At laſt, when every other meaſure for the cordial reconciliation of the Humes to their duty, had proved ineffectual; Albany ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of employing againſt them, that dark and crafty policy, which had been uſed

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan: Drummond, &c.

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by his grandfather againſt the Douglaſes. A parliament was ſummoned to aſſemble at Edinburgh. The Humes eſpecially were invited with the moſt flattering ſolicitations, to attend; ſince without their preſence, and concurring counſels, the deliberations of the parliament could not be conducted with ſufficient intelligence and wiſdom, nor could its decrees command the due reſpect of the nation whoſe affairs they were intended to regulate. The Humes, conſcious of their own crimes and guilty purpoſes, and ſuſpicious that Albany might ſtill be ſecretly no leſs hoſtile to them, than they were to him; for a while heſitated to obey the ſummons, and dreaded the conſequences of putting themſelves within the Regent's power. But Albany proteſted, that no harm was intended them: His friends flattered, ſoothed, and perſuaded them: To diſobey, would be to ſet the Regent at defiance, and to commit an act of treaſon which would leave them no farther reſource ſave in open force. After long conſultation with their friends, Alexander, Lord Hume, with his brother, and Ker of Ferniherſt, their confidential friend, repaired to Edinburgh. The elder Hume, without farther heſitation, went to attend the Regent in the abbey of the Holy-Rood. He met with a reception, as it ſeemed, ſo frankly kind, ſo flatteringly reſpectful; his counſels were ſo earneſtly aſked, and ſo attentively liſtened to; Albany

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The Humes put to death.

bany expreſſed ſo much ſorrow for the contentions which had ariſen, and ſuch a diſpoſition to bury the paſt in oblivion, and to ſatisfy the Humes to the utmoſt of their wiſhes; that Alexander's fears and ſuſpicions were at laſt overcome. But the Regent was deſirous not leſs to receive the aſſiſtance of William Hume and Andrew Ker, in the deliberations of the parliament, than to have the authority and advice of Alexander. Nay, it was his wiſh, as he ſaid, to ſend William Hume, a man whoſe political talents were highly eſteemed, upon an embaſſy to the Engliſh Monarch, in order to fruſtrate the ſolicitations and intrigues of Queen Margaret at the Engliſh Court. Since all was now reconciliation and open friendſhip, Lord Hume ſcorned to adhere for a moment longer to that ſuſpecting plan of conduct which had induced him to leave his brother behind in the town, leaſt they might both fall into the ſame ſnare,—if ſnare there were. At the Regent's earneſt requeſt, Hume ſending a ring from his own finger, a token which could not be counterfeited, required his brother William, and Ker, to join him at the Regent's court, within the abbey. They came, and by their coming, fixed their own fate, as well as that of Lord Alexander. No ſooner had they entered, than the gates were ſhut: and they, with Alexander, were taken immediately into cuſtody by the Regent's guards. The ſeaſon of diſſimulation was

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now over with Albany: He had accompliſhed his purpoſe: His enemies were in his hands. The Humes awakened from their dream of reconciliation, ſecurity, augmented influence, only to ſee the axe of the executioner ready to deſcend upon their heads. They were, without delay, accuſed before a jury of their peers, of various acts of treaſon; convicted; condemned to ſuffer the puniſhment of traitors; and forthwith brought to expiate their turbulent ambition on the ſcaffold. Of the crimes alledged againſt the Humes, one not ſuſceptible of ſatisfactory proof, was, that for fear of puniſhment for his miſconduct on Flowden-field, Lord Hume had made ſome of his vaſſals to aſſaſſinate King James the Fourth, as he was making his eſcape out of that diſaſtrous battle. Their real crimes in the Regent's eyes, no doubt were,—that the family of the Humes had aſpired to riſe upon the ruins of their ancient Lords, the Douglaſes, to the ſame invidious grandeur from which the Douglaſes had been ſuddenly hurled; that they had aſſumed all the turbulence and haughtineſs of the laſt Earls of that illuſtrious houſe; that the power which they uſurped on the borders, was incompatible with Albany's preſervation of his authority and poſſeſſions, as Earl of March; that Albany had been taught to regard them as the authors of his father's exile; that their abilities, although mean, yet ſuperior to thoſe

thoſe of the other Scottiſh nobles, their intrigues with England, their cabals with their fellow-ſubjects, their indignation to find Albany their enemy, after they had been ſo forward to invite him home;—all together rendered it impoſſible for the Regent to think his power firmly eſtabliſhed while they ſurvived. They might fancy that the part which their father had acted againſt James the Third, would ſeem in Albany's eyes, as if it had been done to revenge the injuries ſuffered by his father. But Albany knew them to have firſt fomented that jealouſy againſt his father which had prompted James the Third to ſeek his life. He knew that they had been ever loyal or rebellious, ſolely as the one or the other ſuited the purpoſes of their private ambition. Ker, whoſe evidence had perhaps been employed againſt the Humes, was acquitted and ſet at liberty. Lennox alſo, who, although leſs formidable than the Humes, had alſo taken part in the laſt diſturbances excited by their faction; was thrown into temporary confinement, until he yielded to ſend to his ſervants to ſurrender to the Governor's order, the ſtrong caſtle of Dumbarton, of which, although it belonged properly to the King, Lennox had, ſome time before, obtained poſſeſſion. Albany thus triumphant over his adverſaries, eaſily obtained a parliamentary recognition of his right to inherit the Crown, next after young James and his poſterity. He ſoon after committed

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committed to Sir Anthony Darcy, that dependent authority upon the marches, which Earl Hume had before enjoyed: Hume's office of Chamberlain to his Sovereign, was conferred upon Fleming of Cumbernauld *.

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In the mean while, the gallant, the generous, the ambitious, the enlightened Francis the First, had succeeded to the crown of his father-in-law, Lewis the Twelfth of France. Charles the Fifth had inherited the kingdoms of Spain. Those contentions which, under the predecessors of these two illustrious Princes, had been begun between the French and the Spanish Monarchies, were to be now renewed, and prosecuted with keener emulation, and with mightier and more unremitting efforts, than they had before called forth. Italy was still to be the theatre; for Italy, from being anciently the mistress of the rest of Europe, had become, in these later ages, merely a prize to invite the contentions of the people of her ancient provinces. From opposing each other in this point of contact, the French, Spaniards, and Germans, were soon naturally led to attack one another, wherever they respectively appeared to be the most easily vulnerable. The increase of knowledge, the improvement of the arts, the growing frequency of commercial and ecclesiastical intercourse,

Continental affairs.

* Lesly: Lindsay: Buchanan.

courſe, while they brought all the European nations continually, as it were, more and more cloſely into mutual contact; by the ſame means diſpoſed them at once to more extenſive combinations of amity, and to more complex plans and diviſions of hoſtility. In this ſtate of the affairs of the great nations on the continent; the Scottiſh and Engliſh nations might have looked on, as almoſt unconcerned ſpectators. But the Engliſh had inherited from their fathers, an eternal enmity againſt France: the Scots had equally inherited the enmity of the Engliſh, but the friendſhip of the French. Hence were both Scots and Engliſh naturally involved in all the wars in which France was concerned: Hence had even the pacific Henry the Seventh been led to threaten, and to begin war with France: Hence had Henry the Eighth been incited in the firſt years of his reign to lead an army to the continent; Hence had James the Fourth been excited to undertake that expedition in which he periſhed at Flowden-field. But Henry the Eighth was ſo far from being neceſſarily engaged in continental wars, that he could avoid or purſue them at pleaſure, without any degradation of dignity, or diminution of power. France, Spain, and Germany, were neceſſarily driven into one combination of policy, and obliged to watch each others views in war and in peace: But England, ſtanding

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ſtanding in its inſular ſituation, ſo much aloof from the reſt of Europe, was not reduced to any unavoidable neceſſity of taking part in its wars and political tranſactions. Preciſely for this reaſon; becauſe he could trifle with them without placing his main intereſts at ſtake; Henry the Eighth long intermeddled with fooliſh vanity, in all the train of continental affairs. As the concern he took in them, was only, as a ſacrifice to his own vanity, he was ſoon led to relinquiſh, in a great meaſure, that ancient principle of hoſtility againſt France, by which all the expeditions of his predeceſſors to the continent had been continually prompted. He limited all his pride to be the umpire between the contending Monarchs: and fancied that he became umpire among them, rather becauſe he was actually greater and more powerful than any of them,—than becauſe their moſt important intereſts were at ſtake, but his were not,—than becauſe although reſpectively mighty, they were ſo nicely counterpoiſed one againſt another, that any new weight, however light, might be ſufficient to turn the ſcale. Francis had, at this time, by trivial conceſſions, by feigned ſubmiſſions, acquired, for ſome moments, his capricious favour. Henry, willing to gratify his ſiſter Margaret, but without any renewal of unprofitable hoſtilities againſt the Scots, required Francis to recall from Scotland—

the

the Duke of Albany, whoſe eſtates in France retained him under a neceſſity of paying obedience to the commands of the French Monarch. The French had ever been accuſtomed to ſacrifice, upon extraordinary emergencies, the intereſts of their Scottiſh allies to their own: And the Scots having no alternative between ſteady adherence to the alliance of France, and the laying of themſelves at the mercy of the Engliſh; had ſtill been obliged to overlook the occaſional infidelities of their allies, and to comply almoſt at all times with their wiſhes. An embaſſy from Francis invited Albany abroad. He went, but promiſed ſoon to return. Darcy, who accompanied him from France, and to whom he had entruſted the wardenſhip of the marches, was left, in conjunction with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Earls of Huntly, Arran, and Argyle, to adminiſter the government in the Regent's abſence *.

No ſooner was Albany gone, than the Queen-dowager, and her huſband Angus, returned to Scotland. She could not again obtain the regency of which ſhe had been diveſted. But ſhe could now enjoy more ſafely her jointure-lands; Angus, his family-eſtates: and they might expect ſoon to recover, between them, almoſt all that influence which they had before poſſeſſed, in the

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan, &c.

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government. But before any change in the administration could be accomplished by their intrigues, all those disorders and civil broils which the energy of the Regent had repressed, broke out afresh, over all the country. Meldrum of Binns, a gallant squire, was for the sake of the fair widow Haldane of Gleneagles, whose affections he had won, attacked between Leith and Edinburgh, by Stirling of Keir, with a company of fifty men, to fight against five; and after Meldrum, with his brave companions, had slain and wounded not fewer than six and twenty of their assailants; the valiant youth was left for dead upon the spot. Darcy, however, pursued and overtook the assassins, and within due time brought them to justice. Darcy was himself to be soon after treacherously assailed like Meldrum. As warden of the marches, he went to the town of Dunse, attended by the Kers of Cessfoord and Farniherst, to hold his Justiciary Court. But Hume of Wedderburn, and others of the clan, still burning with resentment for the fate of their chiefs, were aware of his progress, and laid snares for his life. Darcy was a stranger, imperfectly acquainted with the country. All the Scots on the border were men ferocious and crafty as savages; and were often ready to serve one another, at the expence of any perfidy to men more remotely connected with them. Those to whose care Darcy had trusted his personal safety,

Disorders in the Duke of Albany's absence.

ty, contrived to expose him alone, or almost alone, to an ambush of the Humes. Although brave, yet when he found himself way-laid by such numbers that resistance would have been vain, he put spurs to his horse, and fled at full speed. Perhaps he might have escaped, had not he, in his total ignorance of the local nature of the country, suffered his horse to hurry him into the midst of a morass, where the animal being entangled, could not extricate itself; so that Darcy remained an almost helpless prey to his enemies, by whom he was soon overtaken. They stabbed him to the heart; cut off his head; and David Hume of Wedderburn carried it fastened by the long hair to his saddle-bow, till they fixed it upon a pole at Hume-castle, as if it had been the head of a traitor *.

Efforts to settle and punish them.

Darcy, the Lieutenant of the Duke of Albany, being thus cut off; the Earl of Arran, who was rather a weak than a bad man, assumed the most active part in the administration of the regency, and particularly the wardenship of the marches. His first care was—to prosecute the assassins by whom Darcy had been slain. Hume of Wedderburn sought refuge for a time in England. But Arran coming into the Merse with a powerful force, and seizing George Douglas, brother to the Earl of Angus, and with him Mark Ker, who

* Lindsay: Lesly: Buchannan: Hollinshed: Sir David Lindsay's Poem of Squire Meldrum.

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had been accomplices in the ſlaughter, carried them into confinement in the caſtle of Edinburgh.

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A parliament ſoon after aſſembled at Edinburgh, condemned Hume of Wedderburn, Cockburn of Langton, and John the brother of David Hume, with their other accomplices, as guilty of treaſon in the murder of Darcy, declared their lands to be confiſcated, and doomed themſelves to periſh on the ſcaffold. Arran, ſupplied with artillery to batter the caſtles of the rebels, went again to take poſſeſſion of their eſtates, and ſeized for the King, the caſtles of Hume, Langton, and Wedderburn. With the ſame activity, he exerted himſelf to repreſs every diſorder in the ſouthern counties. The Hepburns had aſſaſſinated David, the youngeſt brother of the late Lord Hume, an innocent young man, who had recently obtained the priorate of Coldingham: And Arran now vigorouſly exerted himſelf to bring them alſo to juſtice *.

Riſing influence of Angus, & feuds between him and his rivals.

Amid theſe tranſactions, the Earl of Angus began to regain that aſcendancy among the Scottiſh nobles, which the Douglaſes, from whom he was deſcended, had long poſſeſſed. The ſame ambition which had made him aſpire to the bed of a Queen, now prompted him to oppoſe the power of Arran. He could not without indignation, ſee a rival exalted

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan: Skene's Acts, &c.

alted by the forfeiture of the Humes, and the abſence of the Regent, to that authority on the marches, which he deemed to be, in ſome ſort, an inheritance of his own family. A conteſt between Angus and Ker of Farniherſt, concerning the bailiffſhip of Angus's lands in the foreſt of Jedburgh, drew the Earl of Arran to take part with Ker, and thus brought the jealouſies of the two Earls into immediate and open colliſion. A party of the dependents upon Angus, aſſailed with ſudden violence, James the natural ſon of Arran, ſlew five or ſix of the company who attended him, and purſued the fleeing Hamiltons with ſuch eager impetuoſity, that they with difficulty made their eſcape into Hume-caſtle. This violence offered by dependents of Angus, but without orders from himſelf, to the ſon of Arran, might be excuſed as originating in other cauſes than the averſion of the former to the government and intereſts of the latter. But thoſe many other acts by which Angus and his friends ſtill continued to depreſs the influence of his rival, and to exalt their own, could not longer be either diſguiſed or miſtaken. The kingdom was divided between the two factions: Many new quarrels broke forth, ſolely from the colliſion of the angry ſpirits of the reſpective partizans of the two rival Earls. The private feuds of meaner perſons were every where ſheltered under the

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the pretext of conteſt on accounts of the two nobles whoſe influence divided the nation *.

A parliament ſummoned to meet.

A convention was, in the mean time, ſummoned to aſſemble at Edinburgh for the purpoſe of compoſing thoſe differences which diſtracted the ſtate, and to provide for the farther adminiſtration of the government, till the King ſhould attain the years of majority, or the Duke of Albany might be permitted to return from France †.

Conteſts between Angus & Arran, with their friends.

To this convention the Douglaſes came in great force; and Edinburgh ſeemed ſoon to be ſo entirely in their power; that the Hamiltons heſitated to enter a city in which, as it appeared, they muſt be at the mercy of the rival faction. To ſatisfy their fears, Douglas of Kilſpindie, uncle or couſin to Angus, reſigned the office of Provoſt of Edinburgh, which he for that year held. Arran thus far gratified, immediately entered the town with all his train. Archbiſhop Beaton of Glaſgow, Chancellor of the kingdom, was the chief counſellor of Arran's party: And at his houſe, in the *Blackfriars Wynd*, a conſultation was ſpeedily held, in order to determine upon the conduct which they ſhould obſerve towards Angus. Angus's friends, on their part, were not leſs jealous of the Hamiltons; and now impatient, either by artifice or open

* Lindſay: Leſly, &c. † Eoſdem

open force to gain a decisive advantage over them. Laws, resolutions, formal concessions, could little avail either party; for they were not likely to be regarded longer than the necessity of weakness, or the persuasions of interest should invincibly enforce them. Arms, arms alone, were the sole means to which the inflamed passions of both parties prompted them to refer the determination of their quarrel. But the Douglases, in the concessions by which they had already endeavoured, with honest or insidious purpose, to remove those fears which had with-held the Hamiltons from entering Edinburgh; had weakened their own force to a degree, that seemed to render it doubtful whether they might not be suddenly overpowered by their adversaries. While they suspected the Hamiltons to be about to assail them, Angus with his friends drew out in battle-array, near the *Nether Bow;* and Gavin Douglas, uncle to Angus, and Bishop of Dunkeld, was sent to attempt to pacify the party of Arran; and if possible, yet to accomplish a reconciliation, and prevent the dangerous broil that seemed about to ensue. Gavin Douglas, a man of gentle manners, and by his science, taste, and literature, the prime ornament of his country, was fitted to take a part in ecclesiastical intrigues or civil discords, by nothing but the superiority of his talents, and by the candid discretion and magnanimity of his mind.

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mind. He went on this errand of peace. The Hamiltons he found ready in arms: and impatient to ſeize Angus, and diſperſe his party. To Beaton, the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, and like him, bound as an eccleſiaſtic, to be the friend of peace, did the Biſhop of Dunkeld firſt addreſs himſelf. *By my conſcience*, ſaid Beaton, earneſtly exculpating himſelf from the ſuſpicion of having excited the Hamiltons to violence, and at the ſame time eluding Gavin Douglas's requeſt by ambiguous words,—*by my conſcience, I know not the matter:* As he thus ſpoke, he ſtruck his hand upon his breaſt, with a vehement earneſtneſs of geſture; and the armour which he wore under his Epiſcopal robes, ſounded at the ſtroke. *Your conſcience is not good*, replied Gavin Douglas, with calm contemptuous indignation, *I hear it clatter.* So ſaying, Douglas turned from him, and propoſed his pacific meſſage to one, and then to another of the ſame party. But his words were addreſſed to men confident in their own force and numbers, tranſported with rage and with the deſire of revenge, and already in imagination trampling in victory, upon the lives of their foes. Sir Patrick Hamilton, Arran's brother, would have perhaps yielded to interpoſe his good offices to prevent the threatened bloodſhed. But Sir James Hamilton, the Earl's natural ſon, whom the Douglaſes had lately

aſſaulted

assaulted and pursued, impatiently interrupted the parley, and with loud taunts called away his uncle from listening to any terms but those which the sword should enforce. Gavin Douglas, seeing all his endeavours to preserve the peace thus frustrated, turned him in sorrow; and bidding his armed servants attend his nephew, retired, himself, to his lodgings; that he might not violate the sanctity of his Episcopal character, by fighting in the fray which he had striven in vain to prevent. Angus, in the mean time, while his uncle amused the Hamiltons, had possessed himself, by the favour of the citizens, of the whole *High Street;* had armed all his followers; and had rudely barricaded the outlets of those avenues by which the Hamiltons might be expected to issue forth against him. Arran's party were thus precluded from access to the *High Street*, save by the *Blackfriars Wynd:* And here Angus with the bravest of his friends awaited to assault them, as they should endeavour to come on, by twos and threes; confined by the narrowness of the lane from issuing out in a body, and bringing all their numbers into action at once. It was not a combat. The Hamiltons, obedient to nought but blind fury, were slain almost unresistingly as they came out, till more than three score of them had fallen, and among these Sir Patrick Hamilton, and the Master of Montgomery. Of the rest, the Earl of Arran and some others

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made their escape across the town, and through some part of the *North Loch*; others fled in different directions; the Archbishop of Glasgow, turning backwards, took refuge in the *Church of the Blackfriars*, behind the high altar, from which he was furiously dragged forth, and with difficulty saved from massacre by the intercession of Gavin Douglas. Ere the fray was over, William Douglas, Angus's brother, who had obtained the priory of Coldingham, and David Hume of Wedderburn, had arrived at the city-gates from the Merse, with a reinforcement of eight hundred men, to augment the strength of Angus's party. Finding the gates shut, but unguarded, they burst them open. When they entered, they found that they had come too late for the combat, and that nought remained but to share the joy of the victory. Angus was now left to lord it at Edinburgh, at his pleasure. Arran, and James his natural son—and now his prime counsellor, having escaped; in the western counties, endeavoured, but not with uniform success, to avenge the disgrace which they had suffered, by acts of hostility against such of Angus's adherents, as were placed within those districts, and at a distance from the body of their friends *.

Henry the Eighth of England, whose policy was

* Lesly: Lindsay: Buchanan, &c.

Tranſactions terminating in the return of Albany into Scotland.

was ſtill ſubſervient, partly to his own vanity and caprice, in part to the vanity and private intereſts of his miniſter and favourite Wolſey; had in the mean time abandoned the alliance of the French King, for that of Charles Emperor of Germany and King of Spain; and prepared with mighty boaſtings, and with boundleſs hopes, to renew the war with France. Francis the Firſt, thus again deſerted by his Engliſh ally, was no longer concerned to gratify Henry's wiſhes, by detaining the Duke of Albany from returning to reſume the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh government. Albany, ſtimulated by a deſire to avenge the death of Darcy, and now earneſtly invited by Hamilton, and all the enemies of Angus, was impatient to return. Among theſe enemies of Angus, was now his wife Queen Margaret, the mother of his daughter and only legitimate child. In matters of love, Margaret's character appears to have been not unlike to that of her wife-beheading brother Henry. But Angus had given her juſt cauſe of offence; and while ſhe was abſent in England, had, in the wantonneſs of youthful blood, entered into an illicit intercourſe of love, with a daughter of the *Laird* of Traquair. Margaret, on her part, had not long been informed of her huſband's infidelity, when ſhe, in her turn, withdrew alſo her affections wholly from him. Another youug nobleman, Stewart, brother to the Lord of Ochiltree,

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ſoon attracted her notice, and won her love. That ardent paſſion, ſo fond and mutual, which had once united her with Angus, was now converted into the bittereſt hatred. Combining the reſentments of love with the views of policy, as it is natural for women eſpecially to do; ſhe made common cauſe with Angus's enemies; procured Albany to ſolicit at the Court of Rome, a divorce, which ſhould ſet her at liberty to marry her new lover; and joined with the Hamiltons, in inviting Albany's return to Scotland. Angus, on his part, ſtill maintained his connections with the Engliſh Court; repreſented Margaret's intrigues as hoſtile equally to her brother's intereſts, and to her own honour; and perſuaded Henry to become the enemy of *his* enemies, and the protector of *his* power. It was in vain. Albany, no longer detained in France by his own Sovereign, ſet ſail for Scotland; was fortunate enough to eſcape the Engliſh cruizers which were ſtationed to intercept his voyage; and in the end of October, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-two, arrived ſafe in the *Gareloch* on the weſtern coaſt of the kingdom *.

He ſoon proceeded to Edinburgh, and ſet himſelf earneſtly to re-eſtabliſh that civil order, which had been, during his abſence, wholly overthrown. From

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan.

From the time of their ſucceſs in the late fray at Edinburgh, Angus and his adherents had reigned almoſt without controul, in the ſouthern and eaſtern counties. One daring act by which his partizans had ſignalized their ſcorn of the Regent's adminiſtration, was, by taking down the heads of the two Humes, whoſe treaſon had brought them to the block,—and ſolemnly interring thoſe remains of the traitors, with funeral honours, in the Gray-friars church-yard.—Their brothers were alſo recalled from baniſhment; and all who had ſuffered forfeiture with the Humes, under the adminiſtration of the Regent, and all who had more lately been expelled from their poſſeſſions on account of the aſſaſſination of Darcy; were, by the uſurped and irregular authority of Angus, reſtored to the enjoyment of their eſtates and honours *.

Albany provoked by the events which had taken place in his abſence.

These things could not but enrage Albany beyond meaſure. To add to the irritation which they muſt have excited, a herald from the King of England arrived in Edinburgh, while the parliament were convened at the Regent's firſt ſummons; and, in Henry's name, charged him to depart out of Scotland, and, at the ſame time, required the Scottiſh nobles to reject his authority. But Albany was not to be frightened from his duty, was not to be diſappointed of his revenge.

Rigorous meaſures now adopted by him.

The

* Eoſdem.

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The Queen, Beaton Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Earl of Huntley, all who were adverſe to Angus and the Humes, or friendly to order and good government, or partial to the long-tried alliance of France; countenanced the adminiſtration of Albany by their preſence, and ſupported his authority with all their influence. Long before his own return out of France, he had diſpatched other ſoldiers, and another lieutenant, to hold for him the caſtle of Dunbar, formerly intruſted to Darcy. He was ſtrong therefore in his own character and perſonal talents, in the ſupport of a majority of the Scottiſh barons, and in the faithful valour of a ſmall armed force of foreign ſoldiers. The meſſages of Henry were heard with contempt, and his herald was diſmiſſed with a ſcornful refuſal of his demands. Angus, too, was compelled to bow before a power which he could not withſtand. Angus himſelf, and his brother George Douglas, were ſent in exile to France. Gavin his uncle, Hume of Wedderburn, and ſeveral of the moſt obnoxious of his other adherents, fled into England, without awaiting the iſſue of a trial, and were declared traitors to the ſtate. Albany's rights as Earl of March, and his authority as Warden of the borders, were again fully vindicated and re-eſtabliſhed *.

Thus

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes; Drummond, &c.

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THUS far triumphant over the faction of England, and over the enemies of his own power; having recommended himself to the favour of all the principal nobility, by the overthrow of a party which had usurped, and partly dissolved, the government of the kingdom; Albany might now please himself with the hope of heartily reconciling the whole Scottish nation to his own authority, and to the interests of France. The truce which had subsisted between Scotland and England, ever since the fall of James the Fourth, was terminated by the late haughty messages of Henry, and by the indignant answer which had been returned to them. Pursuing with actual hostilities that denunciation of war which had thus been uttered, Albany, while it was yet winter, assembled the military vassals of the kingdom in arms at Roslin, and thence conducting them into Annandale, hastened to enter England upon the western border, where the English were the least prepared to meet and to repulse invasion. Dacres, Warden of the western marches for the English, had indeed made already some petty incursions into the Scottish territories; yet was wholly unprepared to resist so powerful an invading army; so wisely had Albany concerted the plan of his expedition. Albany himself, with that gallant band of Frenchmen, in number about five hundred, in whose faithful valour he chiefly confided; without delay crossed the Esk, near to where it

Albany disappointed in his attempts to commence a war with England.

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it falls into the Solway-frith, and were even followed by ſome part of the Scottiſh militia. But the Scots had not yet loſt the remembrance of the unfortunate battle of Flowden-field: There was a party amongſt them ſtill partially attached to the Engliſh intereſts: They were jealous that Albany, a Frenchman by birth, and ſtill the ſubject of the French Monarch, might be diſpoſed to ſacrifice their welfare to the intereſt of France. The Queen herſelf, now delivered from the hated preſence of her huſband, was not willing to proſecute to an irreconcileable length, the temporary diſſatisfaction which had ariſen between her and her brother. From theſe cauſes, Albany here found the Scottiſh barons ſuddenly refuſe, with refractory obſtinacy, to accompany his expedition beyond the confines of their own kingdom. The Earl of Huntley openly refuſed to paſs beyond the Solway-frith: and others, who had at firſt appeared to be leſs ready for diſobedience, ſoon declared their reſolution to follow Huntley's example. The van-guard of the army had by this time advanced as far as Carliſle, and threatened to beſiege that city. What ſhould the Regent do? Muſt he relinquiſh thus unaccountably an expedition wiſely concerted, and likely to be crowned with the fulleſt ſucceſs? All his perſuaſions, all his reproaches, were vain. Nothing could move the Scottiſh barons from their reſolution of confining their operations within the limits

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limits of offenſive warfare. Happily, to relieve him from the dilemma in which he found himſelf entangled, Dacres was willing to purchaſe the retreat of an army, whom their leader could not perſuade to advance, at the expence of ſome conceſſions, and of ſome promiſes of money, which it ſeems was never afterwards paid. The Queen herſelf, whoſe intrigues had probably operated as a principal cauſe in exciting the oppoſition to the Regent's wiſhes, repaired haſtily to the camp, and forwarded the negotiations with Dacres. Theſe negotiations procured a temporary truce, more uſeful to the Engliſh than to the Scots. Albany availing himſelf of this ceſſation of hoſtilities, committed what power there yet was in the Regency, to the Earl of Lennox, Luzence lieutenant of the caſtle of Dunbar, and Beaton now preferred from the Archbiſhoprick of Glaſgow to that of St Andrew's: And having thus provided for the vicegerent adminiſtration of the government in his intended abſence; ſailed himſelf for France, to ſolicit from the French King, a new auxiliary force, ſuch as might at once overawe the refractory turbulence of the Scottiſh barons, and make a powerful impreſſion on England in a new invaſion *.

During the abſence of Albany, the Engliſh themſelves

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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themſelves acted in a manner which was calculated to provoke the Scots to abandon that ſyſtem of merely defenſive warfare, to which they ſeemed deſirous to confine themſelves. Henry of England was too haughty and inconſiderate to purſue thoſe conciliatory meaſures, which might now have eaſily fixed the Scots in his intereſts. Or rather ſuch was the habitual temper of mutual animoſity, with which both the Scots and the Engliſh regarded one another, that even when they were, from conſiderations of intereſt, diſpoſed to mutual amity; they knew not how to impoſe the neceſſary reſtraints on their inveterate jealouſies and reſentments. Excited probably by the baniſhed Humes, and in the punctiliouſneſs of his pride, reſolving firſt to chaſtiſe the Scots for their attempt upon Carliſle, ere he would grant them peace; believing, too, that the preſence of an invading army might ſoon compel them to agree to any terms of pacification he ſhould pleaſe to dictate; Henry, upon theſe motives, ſent the Earl of Surrey, early in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-three, to aſſume the chief command of his forces in the north, and with Grey, warden of the eaſtern marches, and Dacres, warden of the weſtern, to invade Scotland with a great army, and compel the Scots to yield obedience to his commands. Surrey with his lieutenants entered the Scottiſh borders at the head of an

Inroads of the Engliſh into Scotland.

an army of six thousand men, ravaged the eastern and western marches of Scotland; and took and demolished Jedburgh, with some other places of strength *. A. D. 1520 to 1542.

But Albany was now on his way back to Scotland; nor could the English intercept him on his voyage. From France he had obtained, not that considerable force which he solicited, but yet a reinforcement with which it was hoped he might make a powerful diversion in Britain. While the English, aware of his having set sail for Scotland, awaited to intercept him at the mouth of the German ocean, he took a western course, and thus eluding all their vigilance, safely landed at Kirkcudbright, on the southern coast of Galloway. From Kirkcudbright he proceeded in haste to Edinburgh. A convention of the Scottish nobles there met him in parliament; and being informed of the supplies he had brought from France, agreed to join him in arms in Douglasdale, and thence to march to repulse and retaliate the English invasion. Mustered in Douglasdale, these forces then marched to enter England across the Tweed at Coldstream. A body of French and Scottish soldiers were from Coldstream sent forward to lay siege to Werk-castle; while another party went to depopulate the adjacent country. The Earl of Surrey, Albany returns, resigns the Regency, and leaves the kingdom.

* Lesly: Buchanan: Lindsay, &c.

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with a potent army, remained at Alnwick; but hoping, in conſequence of his intrigues with the Engliſh faction in Scotland, to thwart the meaſures of Albany otherwiſe than by fighting; he would not now take any offenſive part againſt the Scots. The ſiege of Werk-caſtle was earneſtly urged; for the beſiegers were not only ſtrong in numbers, but were provided with a large train of artillery, with which they played inceſſantly upon the caſtle. A breach was made; ſome of the French ſoldiers entered; but the Scots ſtood back, and refuſed to ſecond them; and they were, in conſequence of this, quickly maſtered by the garriſon, and hanged from the walls. A ſtorm ariſing, which was accompanied with much rain, the Scots, upon this pretext, retired back over the Tweed. Albany, to his infinite mortification, was compelled to agree to a truce, which, after being firſt ſecretly concerted between Queen Margaret and the Earl of Surrey, was ſoon after openly negotiated between the leaders of the two armies. Albany, ſeeing that after having been made the inſtrument of the enemies of Angus and the Humes, to turn the ſcale of political influence againſt their party; he was however not to be ſupported by them in any meaſures of government, which he himſelf choſe to purſue; determined to diveſt himſelf of a regency, the authority of which was but nominal, and

and to retire for ever from Scotland. To this he was the rather induced, becauſe the young King, now eleven years of age, would, after another year, be authoriſed, by the laws of his kingdom, to chooſe new guardians for himſelf; and was not at all likely then to continue the authority of the Regent. In the firſt years of Albany's regency, while the King was yet a ſickly child, the proſpect of the Regent's ſucceſſion to the throne had ſeemed ſo ſtrong and ſo near, that it was almoſt as if he had held a primary, not a merely vicegerent power. But his hopes of the regal ſucceſſion being now ſet at a diſtance, produced, in conſequence, a great diminution of that reſpect which his name and preſence had at firſt commanded among the Scots. The Duke of Albany therefore ſolemnly reſigned the Regency. The adminiſtration of the Scottiſh government was intruſted to other hands. After fortifying with ſome new works his caſtle of Dunbar, and promiſing yet to return if the neceſſities of the affairs of Scotland ſhould demand his preſence, Albany departed for the third time, to return no more. He was undeniably a man of high talents for government, and of ſingular integrity and virtue. He ſeems to have earneſtly ſought the real good of the Scottiſh kingdom, becauſe it was the land of his anceſtors, the kingdom of his couſin and ward,

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ward, an inheritance of which he himself might contingently become the possessor *.

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Albany had scarcely departed, when the Scottish chieftains, conceiving themselves fully at liberty to act as if there were no common government to restrain them. Assassinations were perpetrated, and private wars were waged, in various parts of the kingdom; nor could the King's officers prevent or punish them. The truce with England too was soon violated, first by an attack of the Scots coming peacefully to a fair at Berwick, afterwards by an unsuccessful attack of the English to retaliate that injury. The hostilities thus renewed, were yet more vigorously prosecuted on the side of the western marches, by Maxwell and Jardine, in an incursion into Cumberland, in which they and their followers were bravely opposed by the English whom they invaded; but, after a long and doubtful conflict, came off at last victorious, leaving many of the enemy, and many even of their own men, dead upon the scene of the battle. But Angus and the exiled Humes, in the mean time returned to Scotland: the influence of England became easily predominant in the Scottish councils: the friends of France were compelled to yield to those of England: and the hostilities

Disorders in the internal state of Scotland.

* Eosdem quos supra, &c.

hoſtilities of the borders were once more brought, for a while, to an end *.

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A new ſettlement of the government.

The young King had now arrived at the full age of twelve years. The nobles of his kingdom, hoping every one for himſelf, that he ſhould be ſoon the foremoſt in his Prince's favour, were all impatient to deliver him from the tuition of his mother and his preceptors, and to place him at the head of the actual functions of government. From Stirling, therefore, where he had hitherto chiefly reſided, he was conducted to Edinburgh; and a parliament was ſummoned. The Queen, poſſeſſing great influence, as the mother of James, as the ſiſter of Henry, poſſeſſed herſelf of Edinburgh-caſtle; and hoped ſtill to retain in her own hands the chief authority of government. Ambaſſadors who now arrived from England, were courteouſly received; and their propoſals of peace and alliance were reſpectfully heard. Inſtead, however, of obtaining the conſent of the Scots to a perpetual peace with England; inſtead of prevailing on them to ſend their young King to be educated at the Engliſh court; they procured only a truce for a year to come; in the courſe of which it was ſuppoſed that a treaty of perpetual peace might be finally negotiated. Young James was formally placed at the head of the government; and all the officers required to fill

* Lindſay: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes.

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fill up the pomp of royalty, were nominated to attend in his houſehold. His mother, obliged to ſubmit the controul of the government to the wiſhes of the barons, ſhared her power, however reluctantly, with the Earls of Angus, Arran, Lennox, Argyle, and with the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's. And it was vainly hoped, that an adminiſtration into which the heads of all the different parties were thus received, might rule with firm and unanimous authority, till the King ſhould attain to the years of perfect manhood *.

The Earl of Angus uſurps the whole power of the adminiſtration.

But this coalition could not laſt. The Queen and the Earl of Arran were quickly excluded by the reſt from all official authority in the adminiſtration. For ſome ſhort time, the other nobles agreed in holding, by turns, the cuſtody of the King's perſon, and the chief direction of his affairs. But Angus, by the weight of his family-connections, by the ſuperiority of his perſonal talents, and by the advantages he derived from the favour of the Engliſh King, was ſoon enabled to eclipſe the authority of the reſt. Getting the young King into his hands, he partly by conſtraint, and in part by blandiſhments to win his boyiſh kindneſs, detained him from the wiſhes and demands of the Queen-mother and the other nobles. Of thoſe eccleſiaſtical benefices, within the royal gift,

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

gift, which now fell vacant; Angus, ſlighting the requeſts and thwarting the intereſts of the other miniſters, beſtowed the beſt upon his own relations, and upon men who were the creatures of his family. Throwing off all reſpect to the Queen, ſuch as he owed her in the character of her huſband; while ſhe, on the other hand, now ſcorned and hated him; he joined with her in procuring, contrary to the earneſt wiſhes of her brother Henry, a ſeparation to be finally made between them, by a ſentence of divorce, which was colluſively ſued. While the other Lords, except only the Earl of Lennox and the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, retired in diſcontent from the Court; Angus daily went on to uſurp and abuſe the ſovereign power, with continually increaſing wantonneſs, and to corrupt the mind of the young Monarch, by prematurely exciting thoſe moſt ardent paſſions of youth, which unfit the ſoul for manly thought and uſeful exertion. When, in ſpite of all the arts of Angus, the King ſhewed himſelf impatient of his controul, and attached himſelf rather to the Earl of Lennox; Angus watched, checked, and threatened Lennox, with a jealouſy and violence which made Lennox unſafe, while near his Sovereign's perſon. To eſtabliſh his authority ſtill more and more firmly, this proud chieftain of the Douglaſes continued to diſplace every perſon not of his own faction, who held any office near the King, and

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to ſupply their room with his own kindred.—James thus beſet and reſtrained, and having his diſcontents inflamed by ſome ſecret enemies of the Douglaſes, who ſtill found acceſs to him; began to feel as if he were their priſoner, and became, in his heart, more paſſionately the enemy of Angus, than were all the nobles whoſe ambition this potent Earl had fruſtrated. To his other offences againſt the reſt of the great men of the kingdom, Angus, in the mean time, added that of lawleſsly taking poſſeſſion of the Archiepiſcopal caſtle at St Andrew's, deſtroying the Archbiſhop's houſehold-ſtuff, and conſuming his ſtores of proviſions, without leave obtained, and without retribution made or offered. The Queen and the angry nobles would have taken arms to reſcue James out of Angus's hands, and to overthrow the inſolent proſperity of the Earl: But Angus had, if not the affection, yet the name and preſence of the young King to ſupport his cauſe; and this was ſtill more than ſufficient to counterbalance whatever weight of force and influence his adverſaries could accumulate againſt him *.

Amidst this progreſs of events, and in this ſtate of the oppoſitions of political faction and intrigue, the energy of government was neceſſarily relaxed, and many violations of the peace were, in the confidence

* Lindſay, 205, 206: Leſly: Buchanan, &c.

fidence of impunity, daringly committed in all parts of the kingdom. To reſtrain theſe on the borders, Angus now, inſtead of Albany, Warden at leaſt of the eaſtern marches; repaired, with the King in his company, to hold a Juſticiary-Court at Jedburgh. The licences of the borderers were by the ſtern energy of his judgements puniſhed and reſtrained; but his enemies complained, that he had not ſo much diſtributed juſtice, as obeyed his own reſentments and thoſe of his friends, in the awarding of unjuſt ſeverities againſt thoſe who were by any means obnoxious to the faction of the Douglaſes. However this might be, while the chieftains of the borders reſorted to expreſs their duty to their Sovereign; James found opportunities of ſecretly ſignifying his impatience to eſcape out of Angus's cuſtody. Scot of Buccleugh*, the moſt powerful of the border-chieftains, that was not a creature of Angus, received James's ſecret orders to attempt to reſcue him. Fierce and martial; hating Angus; proud to receive the commands of his Sovereign; hopeful even of riſing to ſupplant the potent Earl; and liking nothing ſo well as that diſorderly fighting to which he and his clan were accuſtomed: Scot muſtered eagerly a thouſand men, the ſtrength of Liddiſdale and Annandale; and, in obedience to the King's ſecret commands, awaiting the time when the Humes and the Kers had returned from eſcorting Angus on his

Unſucceſsful attempt by Scot of Buccleugh to reſcue James.

* Properly Balcleugh.

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way homeward; came unexpectedly up with the company of the Earl, at Halidonhill, not far from Melroſe. Angus no ſooner ſaw Scot with his followers approach, than he ſuſpected their purpoſe, and ſent to demand the reaſon of their coming.—That *he came to ſhew his Sovereign, how many brave men he had ready to obey his commands*,—was the anſwer of Scot. Commanded to retire, he obſtinately refuſed. Angus then ſeeing that he muſt fight for the cuſtody of his Sovereign's perſon, or elſe relinquiſh it; left the King under the protection of a ſmall guard, with Erſkine his preceptor, Lennox his friend, and ſome few others, who did not chooſe to fight in Angus's quarrel; and, with the reſt of his company, reinforced by the returning Humes and Kers, went to compel, by force of arms, the departure of Scot, and to chaſtiſe his inſolence. At ſight of this ſerious oppoſition, Scot's Annandale men, more accuſtomed to ſteal than to fight, quickly turned their backs and fled. Scot himſelf, with his own kindred, bravely maintained their ground, fighting gallantly till about eighty of their number had fallen. At laſt, they too were ſcattered in flight; and the Douglaſes, the Humes, and the Kers, followed furiouſly after. Not a few were cut off in the purſuit; and it was continued till Ker of Ceſsford, with ſome others of the purſuers, were ſlain by the rallying Scots; upon which the purſuers, unwilling

willing to risk their safety farther, returned. The King and Angus, after revisiting Jedburgh, and remaining there for some days, came without farther danger or delay to the ordinary seat of government at Edinburgh. Angus exulted in his victory. But it served only to provoke those friends to the King, by whom Scot's attempt had been encouraged, to engage in new and bolder measures of opposition to this usurper of the royal power *.

Attempts of Lennox equally frustrated.

The Court had not long returned to Edinburgh, when the Earl of Lennox retired from it in disgust. He went to execute, not without the King's concurrence, a new scheme which was concerted for his deliverance out of the hands of Angus. But Angus's talents for intrigue, were not inferior to his ambition. Deserted by Lennox, whom he had before contrived to divide from Arran and the other nobles; he, without loss of time, solicited and obtained a renewal of Arran's friendship. Lennox in the mean time took up arms; and obtaining the powerful support of the Cunninghams and Kennedies, and being assisted by the intrigues of Bishop Beaton and of the Queen; was advancing with an army of not fewer than ten thousand men, to rescue his Sovereign out of the hands of those in whose custody he was at present unwillingly detained. Angus, aware of his

* Lindsay, 209, 210, &c.

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his approach, marched out of Edinburgh, with a conſiderable force to meet him. The Hamiltons, who alſo had taken arms at Angus's requeſt, ſeized the bridge over the Avon near Linlithgow, and compelled Lennox to ſeek a paſſage by a ford at ſome diſtance above. Some hours after Angus had ſet out from Edinburgh, his brother George, threatening that the Douglaſes would tear the young King in pieces in the ſtruggle, rather than ſuffer Lennox to raviſh him from them; forced James to follow reluctantly into the battle againſt his favourite who had come to reſcue him. Between the Hamiltons and the followers of Lennox, the battle was already begun, when the Earl of Angus came up. He joined with ardent rage. For ſome time it was on both ſides obſtinately maintained. At laſt, Lennox himſelf being wounded, made priſoner by the *Laird* of Pardovan, and diſarmed, was then, in cold blood, baſely aſſaſſinated by Sir James Hamilton, the natural ſon of Arran. The followers of Lennox fled in confuſion, and ſuffered a great and cruel ſlaughter. The King, after delaying the party with whom he rode, till they were informed that the battle was won, and that the followers of Lennox fled; then came eagerly up to ſave, if poſſible, the life at leaſt of Lennox himſelf. He came too late. Sir Andrew Wood, by the King's command, with difficulty ſaved Cunningham of Kilmaurs, and

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ſome few others, from the fury of the victorious Hamiltons and Douglaſes. Arran himſelf, the uncle of Lennox, ſorrowed bitterly over his own victory. Being but a weak-minded man, he had been drawn in by the intrigues of others, to arm himſelf againſt the ſtrength of his own family, and had unwarily cut off his ſiſter's ſon, at that time his own apparent heir. The Douglaſes, on the other hand, fluſhed with this ſecond ſucceſs, exerted themſelves with a high and unſparing hand againſt their enemies. The Queen-mother, who had taken part in the councils of Lennox, was forced to wander about for ſome time in a low diſguiſe, in order to eſcape her late huſband's vengeance. Beaton, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, who had brought the men of Fife to join Lennox's army, was alſo compelled to ſkulk for a time under the guiſe of a ſhepherd. Even the King was mute before the threats and reproaches of the Douglaſes, and could not help entertaining fears for his perſonal ſafety *.

James eſcapes from Falkland to Stirling.

In theſe circumſtances, while the ſucceſs of all the meaſures undertaken by Angus and his party, began to tempt them to a degree of heedleſs ſecurity; James, becoming continually more deſirous to eſcape out of their hands, concerted and purſued his deſigns for this end with a profound and vigilant diſſimulation, of

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes.

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of which ſo young a man might well have been ſuppoſed incapable. Beaton, after he had duly humbled himſelf before his enemies, having been received again into their favour, was viſited at St Andrew's by Angus and his kinſmen, with the King in their company. Here they ſpent ſome time amidſt great feſtivities, in the amuſements of hunting and hawking for which the vicinity preſented ſome very inviting ſcenes, and in the enjoyment of that courteous hoſpitality with which the good Biſhop magnificently entertained them. At length Angus himſelf was, by the neceſſities of his affairs, called away into Lothian, but left ſtill about the King his uncle and his brother, with others of their kindred. From St Andrew's, James, with theſe attendants who ſtill remained about him, ſoon after paſſed to Falkland. While they lingered here, George Douglas, the brother of Angus, went alſo to paſs ſome days at St Andrew's or elſewhere; and Archibald, their uncle, and treaſurer to the King, paſſed over on his private affairs to Dundee. James Douglas of Parkhead, the natural ſon of Angus's grandfather, and an hundred other gentlemen, were ſtill left to guard and attend upon the King. James not having for a long time *before*, ſeen himſelf ſo negligently watched by the Douglaſes; ſecretly reſolved to ſeize the opportunity, and make another attempt to eſcape out

out of their hands. Making as if he intended, on a particular day, to go out upon a grand hunting-match, he commanded many of the gentry of the contiguous parts of Fife to be called out to attend him, againſt that day, with their dogs, and otherwiſe arrayed for the hunting. Then, while the minds of his houſehold were occupied with the thought of the ſports of the enſuing morn, he, on the evening before the day appointed for the hunting, retired at an early hour to his chamber; diſmiſſed alſo James Douglas and the other gentlemen, who were in attendance upon him at the ſame time, to their chambers; and, with great ſeeming earneſtneſs, requeſted them to rouſe him early in the morning; affecting to talk with ſanguine expectations of the ſport which the chace was to afford them. In the mean time, he had ſecretly engaged a groom belonging to the ſtables, and a page of his chamber, to attend him as ſoon as all within the palace ſhould appear to have retired to reſt. Aſſuming the diſguiſe of a ſtable-boy, he mounted his horſe, and, with the two youths whom alone he had intruſted with his ſecret, taking the way for Stirling, rode on with ſuch impatient ſpeed, that, before the break of day, he had croſſed the Forth by Stirling-bridge, and been received beyond the reach of the Douglaſes, within Stirling-caſtle, where every thing had been for ſome time ready for his reception, in conſe-

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quence of a ſecret correſpondence which he had found means to carry on with his mother's ſervants in that caſtle. The caſtle ſtill belonged to the Queen-dowager as a part of her dowry; and to her, or to her huſband Henry Stewart, nothing could be more grateful than thus to ſee Angus's pride at once overthrown by the eſcape of the young King out of his cuſtody *.

Surpriſe and firſt meaſures of Angus.

In the mean time, the attendants whom the King had left behind at Falkland, in vain knocked at their Sovereign's chamber-door, at an early hour in the morning, to call him up to the chace. None opened; none anſwered; when the door was burſt open, the King was not there. Some ſaid he had gone out upon a nocturnal viſit to ſome miſtreſs: others who came in from the country, affirmed that he was by this time beyond the bridge of Stirling. George Douglas had returned from St Andrew's at a late hour on the preceding evening: Archibald Douglas arrived on the morning from Dundee: And a meſſenger was ſent to recall Angus himſelf from Edinburgh. Ere Angus came, the whole truth of this event, that was to put an end to his uſurpation, was fully known at Falkland. After ſome uncertain and anxious conſultation, concerning the ſteps which it was now proper for them to take, Angus, with his friends and kindred, ſet out after the King towards Stirling.

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan: Drummond: Hume.

ling. They had entered the town, but had not obtained admiſſion into the caſtle, when a herald ſent from the King, made proclamation at the market-croſs, that none of them ſhould, under pain of high treaſon, approach within ſix miles of the place of their Sovereign's reſidence. Hearing this proclamation, Angus, who already wavered in his purpoſes, would not adventure to exaſperate the young Monarch's wrath, by forcing himſelf into his preſence, contrary to his own commands, but retiring with his company to Linlithgow, ſoon went thence to Edinburgh, and there endeavoured ſo to ſtrengthen himſelf, that he might yet obtain no unfavourable terms from the King, and from the reſt of his enemies *.

Forfeiture and exile of the Douglaſes.

The King, now at liberty, ſummoned without delay, all thoſe of his barons who were not of the party of Angus, to attend him at Stirling. In eager obedience to this ſummons, the Earls of Huntley, Argyle, Athole, Glencairn, Monteith, Rothes, and Eglinton; the Lords Graham, Livingſton, Lindſay, Sinclair, Ruthven, Drummond, Evandale, Maxwell, and Semple, with the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and a multitude of inferior gentlemen, reſorted to the King at Stirling, on the ſecond day of July, in the year one thouſand five hundred and twenty-ſeven. James

* Eoſdem.

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then meeting these his barons in solemn assembly, under the forms of parliament, addressed them in a warm and passionate speech; in which, after bitterly complaining of the restraint which Angus had put upon his person, and of the wanton insolence with which the Earl and his kindred had usurped the royal authority; he concluded with vowing,—*Scotland shall not hold us both, till I be revenged of him and his!* These accusations and complaints were not addressed to men who desired to exculpate the Douglases, and uphold their power; but to the mortal foes of that insolent house. It was instantly resolved, that Angus and his friends should be formally divested of all their offices, and should be summoned to surrender themselves into custody, that they might undergo, before their peers, a trial for the crimes of which they were accused. News being received, that Angus was ready at Edinburgh with a considerable force to resist the King's authority: James, with his barons, and a force of more than two thousand men, instantly set out from Stirling to oppose the rising rebellion. Angus, reluctant to employ his arms actually against his Sovereign, and finding his force to be inferior to that with which James came against him, retired at the King's approach. A parliament, more numerous than that which had recently assembled at Stirling, now met at Edinburgh. Angus, summoned to his trial for crimes

crimes of high treaſon, appeared not; and was, with his brother George, his uncle Archibald, and ſome others of his principal friends, condemned in abſence, to ſuffer the uſual forfeiture and corporeal puniſhment awarded by the laws againſt treaſon. Henry Stewart, huſband to the Queen-dowager, was at the ſame time gratified with the honours and lands of the lordſhip of Methven, and was nominated *Captain of the King's artillery* *.

Angus's rebellion quelled.

Angus, with his kindred and partizans, now retired to thoſe ſouthern diſtricts of which they were almoſt entirely maſters: And, while the Earl himſelf, with his brother George, haſtened into England, probably to requeſt the interpoſition of King Henry between them and their own Sovereign; Archibald their uncle, with other chief men of the party, fortified themſelves againſt their King in the caſtle of Tantallon. James indignantly followed the rebels into thoſe places in which they had ſought refuge. Tantallon, alone, a place of extraordinary ſtrength, protected them from his fury. Againſt it, he marched with all his military vaſſals from the middle and eaſtern counties; procured from the caſtle of Dunbar, the artillery which had been there left by the Duke of Albany; and inveſted and battered the caſtle of Tantallon for

* Lindſay: Leſly: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, &c.

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for the ſpace of twenty days, with the utmoſt activity and vigour, yet without maſtering the ſtrength of the fortifications, or the firm reſiſtance of the garriſon. After a fruitleſs ſiege of twenty days, James was obliged to relinquiſh, for the time, an enterpriſe in which all his paſſions were ſo earneſtly engaged. As his forces retired, Douglas making a ſally from the caſtle upon thoſe who remained to carry off the artillery, defeated them with conſiderable ſlaughter. James had been compelled to retire; but, he had not finally given up the deſign of the ſiege. The caſtle was again blocked by his command; and he reſolved at leaſt to ſtarve the garriſon into ſubmiſſion, if they might not otherwiſe be maſtered. At the ſame time, to Simeon Pannango, Angus's lieutenant, offers of pardon for himſelf andhis own friends who were not Douglaſes, on the condition of the ſurrender of the caſtle, were communicated from the King. Pannango, faithful to his truſt, yet beginning to be ſtraitened for neceſſaries, would agree to no capitulation, till he ſhould have firſt aſked new ſupplies from Angus. The ſupplies he wanted, Angus could not in his exile furniſh; nor could they have been introduced into a caſtle, which was again on all hands cloſely inveſted, even if it had been poſſible for the Earl to ſend them in full abundance. In theſe difficulties, Pannango at laſt conſented to yield up the caſtle to the King, with all its military ſtores;

and upon this condition, was himſelf, with the garriſon, permitted to depart from it free and unmoleſted, and to carry with them all their goods, and all the other furniture of the caſtle, ſave its ammunition and military ſtores. Thoſe of the faction of the Douglaſes, who had ſtill hovered upon the borders, now haſtened into England. The conteſt was now over: and Angus was no longer to lord it haughtily over his fellow-ſubjects, or to uſurp the cuſtody of the perſon of his King *.

James's firſt acts in the diſtribution of juſtice.

James having thus aſſumed the reins of government into his own hands; and having, by the vigour of his proceedings againſt the Douglaſes, evinced that, notwithſtanding his youth, he was not unfit to exerciſe the energies of adminiſtration; now ſummoned anew his parliament; appointed other officers to ſucceed thoſe who had been diſplaced in conſequence of their attachment to Angus; and, by the advice of his barons, prepared to make a juſticiary progreſs through his kingdom. The ſouthern counties, of which the inhabitants had been attached to the Douglaſes, and their partizans the Humes and Hepburns, and were beſides ever diſorderly and lawleſs in their habits of life; firſt required the preſence of their King, there to enforce the terror of his government, and the authority of his laws. Tantallon-caſtle, wreſted from Angus,

* Leſly: Lindſay: Buchanan.

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Angus, was garriſoned by a conſiderable force for the King, under the command of Oliver Sinclair. Into the Merſe and Tiviotdale, James proceeded with all the gaiety of a hunting-expedition, and with a force ſufficient to command due reſpect to his preſence. Before him all was ſubmiſſion, obedience, and eagerly proffered duty. Several of the chieftains on the borders were, notwithſtanding their profeſſions, ſent for a time into confinement: And their lawleſs vaſſals, who had been accuſtomed alike in times of peace and in times of war, to levy contributions, indifferently on Scots and on Engliſhmen, were, without any weak unſeaſonable mercy, made to undergo thoſe rigorous puniſhments which could alone repreſs their crimes, and ſtrike an awe into the ſpirits of their fellows. Among theſe were the clan of the Armſtrongs, with John Armstrong of Gillnocky, their chief. Armstrong, a man of ſingular bodily ſtrength, intrepidity, and addreſs; inhabiting a caſtle ſeated on a rock, that was on three ſides waſhed by the river Eſk, and was on the fourth defended by a deep trench; accuſtomed from infancy to that inceſſant and pillaging warfare, which was exerciſed upon the confines between Scotland and England; and having, amidſt this warfare, learned to ſlight the laws of both kingdoms, and to make the ſubjects of both, tributaries alike to his robber-rapacity; had thus become obnoxious, no leſs to the Scots

Scots than to the Engliſh. His clan, as ſharing his bold crimes, and being obedient to his commands, were no leſs than he, the objects of general fear and hatred. While he raiſed contributions from the inhabitants of Northumberland and Cumberland, he equally levied a tribute from the Scots in Tiviotdale, Annandale, and Nithſdale. To Maxwell of Caerlaverock, particularly, he made himſelf even formidable; and Maxwell's late ſervices had been ſo great, that the King was naturally diſpoſed to gratify him by any means which might at the ſame time eſſentially contribute to the beſt ends of public juſtice. Armſtrong was therefore artfully enticed to obey the King's ſummons to attend him; which, conſcious as he was of his crimes, he would otherwiſe probably have ſlighted, had he not been amuſed with hopes of rewards and honours, inſtead of puniſhment. But, ſcarcely had he appeared in James's preſence, when the King already prepared to ſend him to immediate trial and execution; commanded in anger, that he ſhould be carried away into inſtant confinement. Armſtrong, confounded at a reception ſo different from that which he had been taught to expect, now ſued in vain for his Sovereign's grace, and made even magnificent offers in order to purchaſe his pardon. He would hold himſelf, with forty men in arms, ever ready to execute his Sovereign's commands, without aſking

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any new fief, and without ever harming any Scotſman. He would bring any man, high or low, into the King's preſence, either dead or alive, within a fixed time after the date of the command by which he ſhould be ſent upon ſuch a ſervice: When he perceived that all his ſubmiſſions and his offers were vain; *It is folly*, ſaid he, with indignation, *to ſeek grace at a graceleſs face!* and then, without farther humiliation, ſhrinking, or complaint, he met his fate. With him alſo periſhed by the hand of juſtice, his followers, the principal men of his clan, to the number of thirty-ſix perſons. James having, by theſe and other inſtances of ſtern and rigorous juſtice, reſtored order upon the borders, returned back with his attendants to Edinburgh. It is not improbable but the puniſhment of Armſtrong, and ſome of the other border-chiefs, might be inflicted with the greater ſeverity, on account of their haſty deſertion of Scot of Buccleugh, in the unſucceſsful attempt he had made to reſcue the King out of the hands of Angus, near Melroſe. The chief of the Johnſtons, too, whoſe ſeat was then at the caſtle of Tundergarth, was about the ſame time, in obedience to the King's commands, ſlain by Scot of Buccleugh *.

The ſummer was now too far ſpent to afford time

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

time for James to continue his juſticiary progreſs, upon this year, throughout the reſt of his kingdom. He paſſed the winter chiefly at the caſtles of Edinburgh and Stirling; giving his time partly to the duties of his kingly office, and in part to thoſe pleaſures to which he was naturally prompted and ſolicited by his youth and the circumſtances of his fortune. Upon the return of ſpring, he was again induced, by his attention to the adminiſtration of juſtice, and by his paſſion for the ſports of the chace, to make a progreſs into the northern parts of his kingdom, as he had before viſited the ſouthern. At Methven, the huſband of his mother was ready to receive and entertain him. But a more magnificent entertainment, perhaps than had yet been exhibited in Scotland, was prepared for him and his Court at the Blair of Athole. James was attended by the Pope's Legate; and the entertainment was intended not leſs to gratify that foreigner, and to do honour to Scotland in his eyes, than for the purpoſe of amuſing the young King. In Athole-foreſt, whither the King and his company went a-hunting, a ſpacious ſeat of wooden ſtakes, interwoven with green boughs, and raiſed to a magnificent height, was haſtily reared. Without, the ſituation and the acceſs were made preciſely ſuch as if it had been ſome ſtately caſtle. Within, it was hung with tapeſtry and curtains of ſilk; while windows of glaſs, at

Feſtivities at Blair of Athole.

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ſuitable diſtances in the walls, ſerved to illuminate it. The proviſion of meats and wines, for the entertainment of the illuſtrious gueſts, was ſumptuous and delicate above what it might have been thought poſſible for Scotland at that time to afford. For three days and three nights, the hunting-expedition, and the feſtivities of this ſumptuous bower, were joyfully prolonged, at not leſs than a thouſand pounds a-day of expence to the Earl of Athole, the liberal and magnificent entertainer. No ſooner was it deſerted by the princely company returning homeward; than, to the aſtoniſhment of the Italians, that fairy palace was ſet on fire by Athole's ſervants, and at his command; and it was ſeen to be reduced to aſhes, ere they had gone beyond ſight of the ſcene where they had enjoyed ſuch a profuſion of all the varied and coſtly gifts of luxury. But it was uſual for the Highlanders of this age, often to erect ſuch temporary buildings in the woods, and ſtill in the ſame manner to ſet them on fire, when they themſelves were about to go elſewhere *.

James returns home by Stirling.

From the Blair of Athole, James, with his Court, returned that evening to Dunkeld. He then, in like manner, viſited the towns of Perth and Dundee; and, from the latter, paſſed over to St Andrew's. In St Andrew's he was for ſome time ſumptuouſly

* Lindſay, 226, 227, 228.

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ſumptuouſly entertained, by Beaton Archbiſhop of the ſee, and Hepburn prior of the monaſtery. About the return of winter, he took up his reſidence at the caſtle of Stirling. Here he continued to apply himſelf ſtill more and more to the management of ſtate-affairs. He had emancipated himſelf from that involuntary tutelage in which Angus ſtrove to detain him: He had puniſhed the revolt of the Douglaſes, and driven them into exile: He had, by a ſeaſonable activity, and by ſalutary examples of rigorous puniſhment inflicted on the violators of the public peace, impreſſed upon the diſorderly an uſeful awe of his adminiſtration. It was now time that he ſhould turn himſelf to ſtudy more particularly the relations of foreign policy; and ſhould learn, who of all thoſe nations, by which Scotland was more nearly or more remotely ſurrounded, were the moſt to be courted as friends to Scotland; who were to be diſregarded as unable either to ſerve or injure the Scots; and againſt whom it might become neceſſary for him to lead his ſubjects in arms.

State of Europe.

Throughout all Europe, thoſe changes of policy, and that increaſe of national intercourſe, which were gradually to combine the ſtates of Europe into one grand political ſyſtem, had for ſome time continued rapidly to advance.

The

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Muſcovy.

The growing empire of Muscovy had not yet introduced itſelf into the ſyſtem of the political intercourſe of the great nations in the middle and the ſouth of Europe. Its dominions already ſtretched from the confines of Perſia, to the European ſhores of the northern ocean. With the Poles, the Danes, and the Swedes, the Sovereigns of Muſcovy occaſionally contended, or careleſsly cultivated ſome of the relations of peace. The ſubjects of the Czar were, like the feudal nobility of all Europe, an irregular army, enjoying their lands as their pay. On almoſt all hands, but eſpecially over the ſavages upon their northern and eaſtern confines, they had begun to make extenſive conqueſts. But commerce had not yet found its way into their ſeas. They were almoſt ſtrangers to the exiſtence of the nations in the ſouth of Europe. Thoſe commercial intercourſes with England had not yet taken place, which were gradually to invite the Muſcovite Monarchs to transfer the ſeat of their government towards the ſouth-weſt limits of their territories; and were to teach them to aſpire to be numbered rather among the great civiliſed Powers of Europe, than among the barbarian deſpots of Aſia, with whom alone they had been ranked ſo long.—To the Scots, notwithſtanding their northern navigation and traffic, the very exiſtence of the Muscovites could hardly be at this time known. It was impoſſible that

James,

James, while he turned his eyes upon foreign nations, ſhould make Muscovy even for a moment the object of his regard.

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway.

The contiguous kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were nearer in local ſituation, and much more connected in political and commercial intercourſe with Scotland, and with the middle and ſouthern countries of Europe. Thoſe times were long paſt, when the Norsemen from theſe three countries; then ſcattered in a number of independent tribes, hardly combined by any bonds of civil policy; had deſcended in their famous expeditions to plunder, and ſometimes to ſubdue and colonize, the coaſts of *Ireland*, *Britain*, *Germany*, and *France*. A long train of thoſe diſſenſions, wars, and revolutions, which ever prevail among ſavage and barbarian tribes; had gradually diſtributed thoſe barbarians into the three monarchies of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden; had altogether withdrawn them from ſeafaring adventure; and had fixed them in a ſtate of feudal policy which differed from the feodiſm of the reſt of Europe, only in preſerving to the peaſantry, a ſpecies of freedom not unlike to that which the peaſants of England had enjoyed under the old Anglo-Saxon government. Amidſt the events which, by their progreſs, brought the inhabitants of thoſe three northern

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northern countries into this political ſituation; and in the courſe of thoſe which enſued from it; the Danes, the Norwegians, and the Swedes, came to be connected in a ſort of political ſyſtem of their own, and engaged in inceſſant warfare among themſelves. At length, in the end of the fourteenth century, Margaret, the daughter of Waldemar King of Denmark, united all the three kingdoms, by ſucceſſion and conqueſt, under herſelf, as their Queen. Sweden ſoon withdrew itſelf from under the dominion of her ſucceſſors; but Norway was to remain ever after ſubject to the Daniſh Crown. The efforts of the Swedes to maintain their national independence, had, juſt about this period, been crowned with final ſucceſs, under the conduct of *Guſtavus Ericſon*, whoſe heroic patriotiſm they rewarded by ſeating him upon their throne. Chriſtiern the Second, brother-in-law to the Emperor of Germany Charles the Fifth, and brother to the grandmother of the young King of Scotland, had been depoſed from the throne of Denmark; while his uncle, the Duke of Holſtein, had been exalted to the Sovereignty from which Chriſtiern was expelled.—In theſe circumſtances of theſe three northern kingdoms, James could not be diſpoſed, from motives of family-affection, to cultivate the friendſhip of either of their Monarchs. He had little to fear from either; for they had long

long relinquiſhed all views of diſtant conqueſt, for the ſake of commercial intercourſe; it might ſtill be his intereſt to reſtrain his ſubjects from any hoſtilities againſt the Danes. The mouth of the Baltic ſea naturally invited the navigation of the ſeafaring Scots, particularly from Elgin and Dundee. In their fiſheries, too, the Scots might be eaſily interrupted and harraſſed by the Daniſh and Norwegian mariners, who were in great numbers continually engaged in the fiſhing of the northern ſeas, as well as the Scots.

Germany.

The conquerors of the weſtern empire of Rome, had been at firſt, by the varied circumſtances of their conqueſts, naturally divided into a number of kingdoms and ſtates. The illuſtrious Charlemagne, who, in the ninth century, aſpired with wonderful ſucceſs to reſtore the Roman empire, and to exalt himſelf to be ſucceſſor of the Cæſars; by his victories, once more combined Germany, Gaul, and Italy, under one ſyſtem of dominion. But, this empire was too extenſive to be held together, and duly governed, by any means of power and adminiſtration which could be employed in ſo barbarous an age. A partition of thoſe vaſt dominions among the grandſons of Charlemagne, left all Germany ſubject to one Sovereign; while it aſſigned France to another; and

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reſerved Italy ſtill in a precarious ſubjection to the German Crown. In the courſe of the ſucceeding centuries, the Barons of the German empire, *Counts*, *Margraves*, and *Dukes*, gradually exalted themſelves,—by means of circumſtances peculiar to the feudal government, to the local nature of Germany, and to the extent of the German empire,—into a ſtate in which they were almoſt independent of the Imperial Throne. While the great fiefs became hereditary, the empire itſelf became elective; events by which the power of the nobility was ſtill augmented, and that of the Emperor himſelf enfeebled and debaſed. Farther to diminiſh the Imperial authority, a number of free towns gradually, in a country ſo extenſive, roſe to a condition in which they were no leſs independent than the greater nobility.—Such was ſtill the condition of the German empire. It was a combination of principalities under one common head; who had, however, no power to compreſs them into one coherent body, or to make them either ſeparately, or in combination, duly obedient to his commands.—But, the Emperor contemporary with James the Fifth of Scotland, was Charles the Fifth, who, beſides the ſhadowy power and honours of the Imperial Crown, enjoyed the immediate and hereditary dominion of all the maritime provinces of Germany lying oppoſite to Scotland; and was at the ſame

same time Monarch of the opulent kingdom of Spain. In his hands, the Imperial Sceptre became more than a mere rod; the Imperial Crown more than a mere bauble. His hereditary dominions within the empire enabled him to enforce all the rights of the Imperial authority. His personal activity in some manner annihilated the intervening countries, which detached his widely-scattered dominions; and concentrated their energies as if they had been placed together. The *Reformation of Religion* in Germany, afforded him a pretext for employing his power against the great vassals of the German empire; which, if he had not been then harassed and distracted by the necessities of his other affairs, might have enabled him to reduce all the Princes of that empire to a condition of real, and greatly humbled vassalage. The grandeur of Charles's power, and the activity and artfulness of his ambition, drew the eyes of all Europe particularly upon him. It was impossible that James's notice should not be more or less attracted to so splendid an object. It was necessary, for the sake of the navigation, the fishery, and the other traffic of his subjects, that he should suffer no slight matter to draw upon him the wrath of the Sovereign of the Netherlands.

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France, the other great division of the empire

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of Charlemagne, had, through a long ſeries of revolutions, wars, invaſions, foreign expeditions, victories, defeats, diſcords, and reconciliations, arrived, at laſt, chiefly by the valour of Charles the Seventh, and the policy of Lewis the Eleventh, at a condition in which it was already the moſt powerful Monarchy in Europe. Charles the Seventh had driven the Engliſh out of France; Lewis the Eleventh humbled and cut off thoſe too potent vaſſals among his nobility, whoſe power was too formidable to the Crown; and who were almoſt ready to make the Kings of France, as much nominal Sovereigns, as were the Emperors of Germany. The ſubſequent wars between France and Spain, on account of the pretenſions of both Sovereigns to the ſame Italian dominions, and on account of that enmity which was naturally kindled up between the two nations, by the circumſtances of their neighbourhood at the Pyrennees; were proſecuted with increaſing earneſtneſs of rage and of effort, after Charles had aſcended the Spaniſh throne, and after Francis the Firſt had mounted that of France. Francis, diſappointed in the competition againſt Charles, for the imperial dignity, was ſtill the more excited to oppoſe his triumphant competitor in inceſſant war. While Charles truſted the conduct of his armies to his generals, Francis took the field in perſon. At Pavia in Italy, he was defeated in a great battle, and

and was himſelf made priſoner. This important event, happening juſt about the æra at which James of Scotland emancipated himſelf from the oppreſſive tuition of Angus; could not but ſtrongly awaken the compaſſion of the Scots in favour of a perſon of ſuch a gallant knightly character as Francis; the King of a nation which had been from time immemorial the ally of their anceſtors and of them.—Since the Engliſh had been expelled out of France; ſince they appeared to have relinquiſhed their ancient views toward the conqueſt of Scotland; ſince a matrimonial alliance had taken place between the two royal families of Scotland and of England; there no longer exiſted the ſame ſtrong neceſſities as formerly, to conſtrain the Scots and the French to embrace one another as the deareſt allies. Yet, ancient prejudice and affection, the unextinguiſhed remains of ancient enmities, and the enlarged views of general policy and national intercourſe, which were now beginning to be more and more entertained throughout Europe, were ſtill ſufficient to prevent the French from ſlighting the alliance of the Scots, and to induce the Scots ſtill to cling eagerly to that of France. James, therefore, did not fail to take an eager intereſt in the grand continental war between Francis and Charles, and could not avoid lamenting the misfortunes, and eagerly deſiring the ſucceſs of the former.

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Spain.

Spain, the kingdom of Charles, formed from the gradual combination of a number of petty kingdoms, into which the territories of Spain had been divided; enriched by the adventures of a diſtant navigation, and by the diſcovery of a new world; reduced by the vigour and addreſs of Ximenes, and by the ſkilful management of Charles, into a ſtate in which its nobles and its people were ſubject to almoſt abſolute authority; was too remote to attract the particular notice, or to have any influence upon the intereſts of Scotland, otherwiſe than as its King was alſo Emperor of Germany, and immediate Sovereign of the Netherlands.

Portugal.

Portugal, one of thoſe ſmall kingdoms which had ariſen within that extent of territory which was anciently comprehended in Spain; had not, like the reſt, been as yet united with that one conſiderable Monarchy, in which *they* were now all included. The Portugueſe had long ſince been led, by their vicinity to Africa, and their conſtant wars with the Moors, to turn their attention in a particular manner to maritime affairs; to launch out from the Mediterranean ſea, into the *Atlantic* ocean; and to explore the weſtern coaſts of Africa. Their voyages of diſcovery in the Atlantic ocean, and along the African coaſts, had been

been continued, till they diſcovered countries and iſlands rich with various commodities, which, when imported into Portugal, were valued as the materials of a new wealth, that was to make this narrow country the wonder and envy of all Europe. One ſucceſs ſtill led to another; and the Portugueſe boldly paſſed at laſt from the Atlantic to the Indian ocean, and carried their navigation and their commerce to the coaſts of Hindoſtan. Their commerce with India made them for a time the richeſt of all the European nations. It was while this commerce was at its height, that their attack upon the ſhip of *Andrew Barton* of Leith, provoked him to ſeek repriſals under his Sovereign's authority. But the quarrel of Barton ſeems to have been now forgotten; and it does not appear that the Scots had at this time any intercourſe, whether of friendſhip or of amity, with the Portugueſe.

Italy.

Italy, ſtretching out into the Mediterranean ſea, at a vaſt diſtance from Scotland, had, after its conqueſt by Charlemagne, experienced a ſimilar fate as Germany, in reſpect to the arrangements of political power and civil eſtabliſhments, among its inhabitants. It was divided among great vaſſals, into a number of dukedoms and principalities; which, in conſequence of the remoteneſs

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remoteneſs of the ſeat of the Emperor, and of his inability to maintain his authority, ſoon aſpired to the rank of independent Sovereignties. Around its ſea-coaſts, too, there had ariſen a number of commercial cities, moſt of which ſubſiſted in the condition of independent republics. The *Genoeſe*, ſo rich and powerful in the time of the cruſades, had even now a great maritime force, and an extenſive and opulent commerce. *Venice*, long enriched by the traffic with the inhabitants on the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean, by whom the manufactures and productions of the diſtant regions of *Hindoſtan* and *China* were tranſmitted into their hands; had but lately begun to experience a diminution of the immenſe profits of their traffic, in conſequence of the bold adventures of the Portugueſe navigators, and the new tract by which theſe had found their way to ſeize the riches of India. *Florence*, rich and ſplendid by the commerce of its merchants, and the pecuniary tranſactions of its uſurers and bankers, was now adorned by the taſte, genius, and magnificence, and perhaps depreſſed by the tyranny, of the illuſtrious *Medici*. *Rome*, once a ſeat of civil and military empire, was ſtill the throne of a Papal power, which held all Europe ſubject to its ſpiritual dominion. The government of the Imperial city, almoſt relinquiſhed into the hands of the Pontiffs, even before the laſt overthrow of the Roman empire, had, amidſt all the

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the ravages of the Barbarian invaders of Italy, never been wholly wreſted from them. But thoſe ſame fierce and turbulent barons, who were ever ready to vindicate their independence, even againſt the Imperial arms, often failed to reſpect the peaceful authority and ſpiritual thunders of the Holy Father. Inſecure, and without authority in Rome, the Popes had for a while retired in a ſort of exile to France. They had returned, at the earneſt ſolicitation of the Italians, and the Papal Court was now ſeated at Rome in its moſt auguſt majeſty and ſplendour. The patrimonial territories of the Holy See were extenſive. The Papal authority was fully eſtabliſhed at Rome: In remote countries, the Papal authority was even more profoundly reverenced, and more reſpectfully obeyed, than in Italy: And an immenſe tribute was poured out of almoſt all lands, by ten thouſand different channels, into the treaſury of the Pontificate.—But, the natural pretenſions of the German Emperor, as the Lord-Paramount of Italy; the conteſt between the royal houſes of *Anjou* and *Arragon* for the inheritance of the kingdom of Naples; and the endleſs and intricate intrigues of the Italians themſelves; had made Italy a ſcene of warfare and of bloodſhed; in which the Spaniards, Germans, and French, had now long contended. The defeat of the French, and the captivity of their Monarch, left the Germans and Spaniards

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for a time maſters in Italy; and Rome was ſoon to be ſacked by them, and the Pope himſelf to be made their priſoner. James and the Scots could not but turn their eyes with eager and anxious attention towards Italy. The clergy of Scotland, as of all Chriſtendom, were deeply intereſted in whatever might befall the Sovereign Pontiff, as well by ſuperſtitious veneration for his name and dignity, as on account of the numberleſs references to him, which continually aroſe from the whole ſyſtem of their eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment. Beſides, his preſent fate, and that of all Italy, were intimately connected with the progreſs of the conteſt between Francis and Charles, which drew the earneſt regard of every ſurrounding Prince and nation, but in a particular manner that of the Scots.

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Switzerland, Savoy, &c.

The Swiss and the Savoyards, the inhabitants of the mountains and valleys of the Alps; the Hungarians and Poles, and other nations ſituated upon the inland confines between Europe and Aſia; were too remote to have attracted the notice of the Scots. The Savoyards and Swiſs were unavoidably entangled, and abſorbed into the vortex of the wars between the German Emperor and the French King. The Hungarians were the ſubjects of Charles's brother Ferdinand. The Poles entered

tered with the Ruſſians, Danes, and Swedes, into the political ſyſtem of the North; but could have at this time little or no influence upon the fortunes of the nations of the South.

England.

But, above all that related to theſe ſtates and kingdoms, it concerned James to ſtudy chiefly the power of that nation which poſſeſſed the ſouthern portion of the ſame iſle with his own ſubjects, and to acquaint himſelf with the temper, views, and intereſts of its Monarch. England, after many wars, foreign and inteſtine, was now in a condition eminently flouriſhing and happy. Her Sovereign had indeed ſquandered away the treaſures accumulated by his father; but the profuſion of thoſe treaſures had, as it were, oiled anew the ſprings and wheels of induſtry. He engaged, not from neceſſity, but out of vanity, in various unprofitable continental wars; but theſe wars never affected deeply the very exiſtence of the ſtate. His caprices occaſioned many acts of injuſtice and cruelty; but the ſteady maintenance of public order, and the diſtribution of juſtice, during his reign, when compared with thoſe evils which had ravaged and diſtracted England during ſo many of the preceding reigns; cannot but appear to have made his government, in the whole, eminently beneficial to the national proſperity of his ſubjects.

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That eternal jealouſy, naturally ariſing in the minds of the Scots and Engliſh, becauſe they were neighbouring and independent nations, of which the one ſtill threatened to ſwallow up the other; had, ever ſince the acceſſion of James the Firſt to the Scottiſh throne, continued to be inſenſibly ſoftened, although it could not be wholly effaced. The Kings of England and their miniſters, were now beginning to learn rather to govern the Scots by policy and intrigue; than to haraſs them by war, and to menace the overthrow of their national independence, by conquering invaſion. James, as the nephew of Henry, had juſt reaſon to mingle the regards of private affection, with the views of public policy, in ſtudying the intereſts of Scotland, in reſpect to its connections and intercourſe with England.

Diſpoſition of the Scottiſh Court.

Such, then, was the ſtate of the ſurrounding kingdoms and nations of Europe, at the time when James the Fifth of Scotland, approaching in years to perfect manhood, and even premature in the energies of his underſtanding, aſſumed into his own hands the reigns of government, and prepared to conduct for himſelf the foreign and domeſtic affairs of his kingdom. Only Denmark, Flanders, France, Italy, and England, could attract his notice, on account of any enmities or amities

amities which he ſhould have reaſon to cultivate with them. France and England were the only two countries with which it was impoſſible for the Scots not to be either friends or enemies. To Rome alſo, indeed, it was ſtill almoſt neceſſary to ſubmit, with abject and implicit reverence, as to the voice and to the arm of Heaven. Since the death of James the Fourth, the Engliſh influence had acquired a new aſcendency on the Scottiſh councils, which threatened to overbalance that of France, once all-powerful. But the fall of Angus, and the refuge which he and his partizans found in England, promiſed to counteract thoſe other cauſes which had, of late, inclined the rulers of Scotland to the Engliſh intereſts *.

Progreſs of Scottiſh affairs.

From England, however, came about this time, an embaſſy to congratulate James, and to invite him to enter into an intimacy of correſpondence with the Engliſh Monarch, ſuch as might become their near relation to one another, and might mutually promote the welfare of their reſpective ſubjects. Anſwers, at leaſt courteous and obliging, if not ſufficiently explicit, were returned to the propoſals. His ambaſſadors were entertained at the Scottiſh Court, with whatever of magnificent and ſumptuous hoſpitality it could diſplay. But

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes.

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But Angus and his companions had been received with a degree of favour which could not but be unpleaſing to James; for Henry, having ever found them adverſe to the French intereſts in Scotland, and hoſtile to the Duke of Albany, ſtill eſteemed and protected them, as men devoted to his intereſts, and well qualified to ſerve him. Whatever commands the Engliſh ambaſſador might be charged with, in favour of thoſe exiles, could not be heard at the Scottiſh Court with patience, although they might not be anſwered with angry diſreſpect. James, in return, diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Engliſh Court, whoſe chief commiſſion was, to perſuade Henry to ſend the Scottiſh rebels out of his dominions. The Engliſh Monarch, enraged that a petty Prince, his nephew, ſhould not embrace his offers with eagerneſs, and receive his commands with reſpectful ſubmiſſion, ſcarcely deigned to give the Scottiſh ambaſſadors a patient hearing. Hardly had they returned home, when the peace which had for ſome time ſubſiſted between the Scots and the Engliſh, was, chiefly by the contrivance of Angus and his partizans, violated upon the borders; and the ancient hoſtilities were renewed with an earneſtneſs more zealous on the part of the Scots, than when the Duke of Albany had in vain attempted to lead them on. After ſome Scottiſh ſhips had been taken at ſea by the Engliſh, and after various acts of mutual devaſtation had been

been committed by both Scots and Engliſh on the borders; the interference of the French King, once more at peace with Henry, mediated a new truce between the contending Scots and Engliſh; and James and his high-minded uncle, renewed their former amicable correſpondence *.

Inſtitution of the College of Juſtice.

Amidst this progreſs of the public affairs of Scotland, was inſtituted the *College of Juſtice*; in order to adminiſter that civil and criminal juſtice in the King's Courts; to which his *Juſticiaries*, his *Parliaments*, and even that *Committee of Parliament*, which, under the name of a *Daily Council*, had been appointed to aſſiſt the King in the duties of internal adminiſtration; were, in conſequence of the riſing authority of law, and the growing proſperity of the kingdom, in a great meaſure inadequate. The *Senators of this College* were, by the very nature of their office at its firſt inſtitution, at once Barons of Parliament, and, in addition to the great officers of ſtate, members of their Sovereign's Ordinary and Privy Council, by whoſe advice it was natural for him to act, whenever his parliament were not aſſembled. That the proviſion neceſſary for the ſupport of theſe new officers of juſtice, might not prove burdenſome to the royal revenue, already ſcarcely equal to the ordinary expences of the Monarch; ſalaries in money, not

* Lindſay; Leſly: Buchannan.

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not fiefs in land, were annexed to their offices: and the clergy, of whom, as the beſt lawyers in the kingdom, the new Court was chiefly to conſiſt; agreed to defray the ordinary expences of the inſtitution, by a contribution, with the Pope's permiſſion, to be annually levied from their order. An inſtitution ſuch as this, neceſſarily marks an illuſtrious æra in the progreſs of civilization among the Scots. It was perhaps the moſt important event that diſtinguiſhed the reign of James the Fifth *.

James's voyage to the northern and weſtern iſles.

A voyage to the Hebudian and the Orkney iſles, for the purpoſe of reducing their ſavage and lawleſs inhabitants to a regular ſubmiſſion to government, and to more peaceable habits of life, was another undertaking becoming a Prince of the vigorous talents and the active diſpoſition of James. Sailing from Leith, he proceeded around the north-eaſt coaſt of the iſland, to the Orkneys; compoſed the diſorders ſubſiſting among the inhabitants, partly Norwegians and in part Scottiſh, of theſe iſles; made uſeful proviſions for the future maintenance of tranquillity, and of the ſovereign power in theſe remote dependencies of his dominions; and then returning weſtward, viſited, with the ſame care, the great Hebudian iſles of Lewis, Harris, and Sky. In all the Hebudæ

* Skene's Acts: Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

budæ, he exerted himſelf with an energy which ſtruck terror into the hearts of the ſavage and turbulent clans by which they were poſſeſſed. By force or artifice, he made himſelf maſter of the perſons of many of the chieftains; detained ſome of them in not diſhonourable attendance about his perſon; ſent others into impriſonment in different caſtles; and from others accepted hoſtages and pledges, in ſecurity for their future peacefulneſs and obedience. Macleod of Lewis, Macniel, Maclane, Macintoſh, Mackay, Mackenzie, with many others, were among thoſe chiefs from the iſles, and from the main land, whom their Sovereign thus for a time removed from the ſcenes of their accuſtomed turbulence and tyranny. The taxes were likewiſe fixed, which were to be paid in ſervices, or in commodities, to the King, from thoſe diſtant vaſſals, whoſe ſervices and contributions had been hitherto extremely uncertain, trivial, and irregular. From theſe weſtern iſles, James continued his voyage into the frith of Clyde; but not being able to land at any of its harbours, was by ſtorms driven upon the *Point of Whithorn* in Galloway. From Whithorn he returned to Edinburgh, through the ſouth-weſt diſtrict of his kingdom. In theſe parts, he found all thoſe diſorders to have been renewed during his abſence, which his rigorous juſtice ſeemed to have, not long before his departure, almoſt for ever repreſſed. His

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indignation was here again rouſed; puniſhments were inflicted; ſeveral of the turbulent barons of the borders were ſent into confinement; and, while they mutually accuſed one another, many defiances to judicial combat were reciprocally given and accepted among them. Charteris of Amisfield, particularly, and Douglas of Drumlanerick, engaged in a combat of this ſort before the King at Edinburgh; but, after they had for ſome time fought, in circumſtances which moved the ridicule of the ſpectators, were parted, without having urged the duel to death or diſcomfiture, on either ſide *.

Riſe of the Reformation, & James's matrimonial negotiations.

In the mean time there had ariſen, in the reformation of religion, a new cauſe of commotion in the political ſyſtem of Europe; which, in its operation, connecting itſelf with other cauſes, leſs general in their nature, more accidental, and of inferior importance, was to accompliſh a mighty change upon the political relations of the various European ſtates. The art of printing, the inſtitution of univerſities, the growing activity of commerce, and the confirmed efficiency of laws, had, as we have ſeen, concurred with joint energy, to ſhed new illumination over the minds of men, during the progreſs of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. By this means were THE CLERGY

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchannan.

GY THEMSELVES FIRST awakened, in many inſtances, to a keen ſenſe of the abſurdities ſo copiouſly intermingled in the ſyſtem of their received religious worſhip and belief. Satires written by eccleſiaſtics againſt their own order; the examination which they began to make at their univerſities, into books which had been long venerated without being underſtood; the bold doctrines of ſome eminently acute theologians; and the daring invectives of ſome illuſtrious preachers againſt prevalent vices and opinions; had ſoon ſo prepared all Europe for a religious revolution, that nothing was wanting but ſome *particular* cauſes which might give efficacy to theſe *general* ones, and might thus undermine the Papal throne, and diſarm its thunders of their terrors. Such cauſes were ſoon found in Germany; firſt, in the enthuſiaſtic zeal and intrepidity of ſome Bohemians, and afterwards in the keen diſcernment, the paſſionate haughtineſs, the ardent ſpirit of a Saxon monk. The Romiſh Court, unaware of its own danger, and ſtill continuing to abuſe thoſe means which it poſſeſſed, for commanding the veneration and obedience of the world, ſoon kindled the riſing combuſtion into a blaze. Luther became the apoſtle of Germany; and the fame of his doctrines was ſoon ſpread abroad into diſtant lands. In other countries, ſimilar cauſes were, with various ſucceſs, prepa-

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ring the commencements of ſimilar revolutions. In England, particularly, Henry the Eighth, moved partly by ſome ſcruples of conſcience on account of his having married the wife of his brother, partly by love newly conceived for another woman; about this time, earneſtly ſtrove to obtain a divorce from his Queen; and, when Rome ſtill refuſed to gratify his wiſhes in this divorce, at laſt determined reſolutely to throw off the Romiſh yoke, and to make himſelf the independent head of the Engliſh church. It was the ſame combination of general cauſes which operated in England as in Germany: Only, in England, thoſe general cauſes were called into action by a different particular cauſe. The affairs of Henry's divorce, and of the withdrawing of the Engliſh church from obedience to Rome; now combining to unite Charles of Germany, and Clement the Roman Pontiff, in an oppoſition of intereſts to Henry the Eighth of England, as well as to the French King; brought ambaſſadors, about this period, from both the Pope and the Emperor, whoſe errand was, to divert James from any deſigns of throwing off the authority of Rome, as his uncle had done; and to perſuade him to abandon the alliance of France and of England, for the ſake of the Emperor's friendſhip, and in obedience to the ſacred commands of the Holy Father. James, young and a bachelor, might be naturally

turally ſuppoſed deſirous to contract a matrimonial alliance with ſome Princeſs worthy of his bed. The Emperor offered him, therefore, in marriage the daughter of his ſiſter and of Frederick, the depoſed King of Denmark, or any other he ſhould prefer, of three ladies beſide her, who were not of meaner rank, and were alſo at the Emperor's diſpoſal. The embaſſy alſo inveſted him, in Charles's name, with the inſignia of that illuſtrious order of knighthood, which was denominated, *the order of the Golden Fleece;* and reminded him of all thoſe alliances which had, from almoſt the remoteſt times, ſubſiſted between the Kings of Scotland and the Sovereigns of Flanders. The Pope, too, conferred on James the moſt flattering honours, and earneſtly ſolicited him to take part in the ſame cauſe with the Emperor, and to profeſs himſelf the champion of orthodox religion, and of the intereſts of the church. But it would have been abſurd for James, however faithful to his religion, to have abandoned, for the ſake of any trivial gratifications from the Pope or the Emperor, the alliances of both France and England, towards which all the intereſts and prejudices of the Scottiſh nation equally directed their wiſhes and their views. Nor were the charms of thoſe miſtreſſes, whom Charles offered to his love, ſo powerful as not to leave him ſtill deſirous to find a Queen among the Princeſſes of France. The ambaſſadors

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ambaſſadors of Charles and of Clement were not ungraciouſly received, or diſmiſſed in anger; but they departed from the Scottiſh Court, without having fully accompliſhed all the views of their reſpective miſſions *.

James ſails abroad to court a wife.

James's ambaſſadors had already ſought in different Courts, and in particular in France, a Princeſs who might be received into their Sovereign's bed. David Beaton, an eccleſiaſtic of diſtinguiſhed talents, and nephew to the archbiſhop of Glaſgow; negotiated for him a marriage with the daughter of the Duke of Vendome; which Beaton was, however, not authoriſed finally to conclude, till his maſter ſhould with his own eyes view the beauty of her who was thus deſtined to his arms. With a gallantry ſomewhat unuſual in Monarchs, therefore, James, with a gay company of his young nobility, now ſet ſail for France. For three days and three nights they had purſued their voyage, when a ſtorm ariſing, drove the veſſel from its courſe. The pilot, conſulting his Sovereign concerning the direction in which he ſhould, in this difficulty, endeavour to ſail, was by James bidden to ſteer how he himſelf choſe, or how he beſt could. Having this permiſſion, and, while his Sovereign ſlept, being, by ſome of the nobles attending him, deſired to turn

* Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

turn him backward, and ſteer his way to the Scottiſh coaſt; the pilot meaſured his courſe again towards his home; and when James awoke, and aſcended the deck, he ſaw himſelf upon the weſtern coaſt of his own kingdom. At this ſight he was furiouſly enraged; nor would he be eaſily perſuaded that it was not the treachery of the pilot, and of ſome others of his attendants, which thus ſtrove to fruſtrate the deſign of his voyage. Perhaps it was neceſſity, perhaps it was intrigue, that produced the incident by which his anger was thus provoked. However theſe things might be; James was with great difficulty perſuaded to ſpare the pilot's life, but would never wholly forgive either him, or thoſe nobles in his train, by whoſe ſuggeſtion he ſuſpected the pilot to have acted. With as little delay as the circumſtances would permit, the Monarch then returned to Leith: Returned, he made immediate preparations for a ſecond voyage, in which his train ſhould be more numerous and ſplendid, his fleet more conſiderable, and better equipped, than at the firſt. Theſe preparations being duly made, he ſet ſail from Pittenweem, and, after a proſperous voyage of nine days ſailing, on the tenth arrived ſafe at Dieppe in Normandy; where landing, he then impatiently proceeded to the Court of the Duke of Vendome. James, unwilling, however, openly to pay his court to the lady

that

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that was destined for his bride, until he should have first beheld her, and determined with himself whether he could make her mistress of his heart; presented himself at her father's castle, under a disguise, as the follower of one of the persons of his train, who was selected to act for a time as the lord of the company. Even in this disguise, he with his party met a courteous reception. But he had not long entered the Duke's house, when the Princess, who had been taught to expect his hand in marriage; either by the comparison of his looks with his portrait, which had been formerly presented to her, or in consequence of previous warning of his coming, soon detected him under his disguise, and addressed him as the King of Scotland. James, thus discovered, assumed his proper character, and was for eight days sumptuously entertained by the Duke, while his love was fondly encouraged by the lady who had hopes of becoming his Queen. Yet, ere he would here conclude a treaty of marriage, he resolved to visit the Court of the French King, the gallant Francis the First *.

His reception at the French Court.

At the Court of Francis, that flattering reception awaited him, which was due to the gallant young King of an allied nation, and which it became the politeness and hospitality of the most magnificent

* Eosdem.

magnificent Monarch of his age to offer. Francis himſelf, his ſon Henry, and all that was moſt honourable about his court, vied in hoſpitable and reſpectful attention to their royal gueſt. To the ladies, particularly, a ſtranger ſo young, ſo handſome, and exhibiting in his carriage, mien, and manners, ſo much of knightly gracefulneſs and generoſity, was ſingularly welcome. Above them all, the lovely, but ſickly and delicate, Magdalen, Francis's daughter, was captivated almoſt at firſt ſight, by the figure and addreſs of the young Scottiſh King. Nor did her charms, made more intereſting by the delicacy and langour of declining health, fail to make a bewitching impreſſion on the heart of James, ſuch as he had never before experienced. The young and lovely pair were ſoon mutually ſo much enamoured of each other, that all conſiderations of prudence, all remembrance of former promiſes or attachments, all but the dear ideas of one another, quickly vaniſhed from their minds. It was the opinion of the phyſicians, that Magdalen, faſt ſinking under a conſumption, the aſſaults of which had already maſtered the force of her conſtitution, could not now long ſurvive. But the deceitful fever of a diſeaſe, of which it is the peculiar character to flatter and amuſe the patient, with the gayeſt and moſt undoubting hopes of lengthened life, almoſt till the very moment when it ſtops the pulſations

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of life for ever; and the raptures of a fond and not rejected love; with-held the royal maiden from indulging any gloomy forebodings of her diſſolution, which ſhould have forbidden her to give her hand to James. James himſelf was too much in love to be more ſcrupulous than ſhe. Francis, with a tender reluctance, ariſing ſolely from his fears for his daughter's life, and from his affection for both Magdalen and her lover, at laſt agreed to give her in marriage to his royal gueſt. At James's command, ſignified by meſſengers whom he now ſent home, a new train of the Scottiſh nobles and prelates repaired to join their Sovereign at Paris, and to do him honour during the ſolemnity of his marriage. An hundred thouſand crowns was the marriage-portion which the King of France agreed to pay with his daughter: James engaged to provide his bride with a ſuitable dowry: The ancient treaties of peace between France and Scotland were renewed: And James publicly eſpouſed a wife, whom wealth, high birth, and the moſt amiable perſonal qualities, at once recommended to his arms. Happy love ſeemed at firſt to reſtore the languid health and fading beauty of Magdalen. A thouſand ſumptuous and ſplendid feſtivities graced the marriage. Wonderous exhibitions of ſkill, in commanding the powers of mechaniſm; and the nobleſt productions of the fine arts which Francis had invited from Italy, to embelliſh

belliſh his Court; diſplayed upon this occaſion, to the eyes of the aſtoniſhed and admiring Scots, a dazzling blaze of elegance, magnificence, and beauty, which they had ſcarcely before conceived poſſible to have exiſtence *.

His return home.

After the marriage was celebrated, and after the concomitant feſtivities had been for a due time prolonged, the new-married pair were to depart to their own kingdom. Francis, at their departure, loaded them with innumerable preſents, the moſt coſtly and magnificent which the riches of his Court and kingdom could afford. They ſailed from Dieppe in Normandy, and on the twenty-eighth of May, the fifth day after they had ſet ſail, in the year one thouſand five hundred and thirty-ſeven, arrived ſafe at Leith, with a numerous company of ladies and noblemen, French and Scottiſh, who were conveyed in no fewer than fifty ſhips. From Leith, they paſſed firſt to the King's reſidence at the Abbey of Holyroodhouſe. Orders were ſent to all the principal towns in the kingdom, that preparations ſhould be made for the magnificent reception of the King and Queen, in a progreſs which they intended ſoon to make throughout his dominions. But, in the midſt of the rejoicings for their marriage and ſafe arrival, and while the bidden pre-

 parations

* Lindſay, &c. &c.

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parations were every where made for their reception, the young Queen's former illneſs was renewed, her feeble conſtitution inſtantly ſunk beneath it, and ſhe died on the fortieth day after her arrival on the Scottiſh ſhore. Hapleſs James! what muſt thou not have ſuffered, if thy heart was ſuſceptible of that tenderneſs and love, which thy form and manners were made to inſpire? Magdalen, whom thy heart preferred, was thus quickly raviſhed from thy arms! and Mary of Vendome, whom thou ſlightedſt for Magdalen, being diſappointed of thy hand, had retired to a convent, and had there already died of unrequited love *!

James's ſeverity againſt the Douglaſes.

But James, amid theſe adventures and misfortunes of his love, had not yet forgotten the injuries which he had ſuffered from the Douglaſes, and had not ceaſed ſtill to cheriſh in his breaſt againſt them, an eternal, implacable reſentment. Jane, the ſiſter of the exiled Earl of Angus, the widow of Lyon Lord Glammis, and now, by a ſecond marriage, the wife of Archibald Campbell of Kepneth; with Campbell her huſband, her ſon the young Lord Glammis, and an old prieſt their confeſſor; were accuſed of practices againſt James's life, by William Lyon, a kinſman of the lady's late huſband. The accuſation was ſcarcely ſupported by credible proofs: in

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

in the retirement in which the perſons accuſed lived, it ſeemed improbable that they ſhould meditate aught againſt the Monarch's ſafety: Lyon was ſaid to be ſtimulated by revenge, rather than actuated by ſincere loyalty. But James was ready to ſuſpect every thing againſt thoſe from whom he had ſuffered ſo much: To adminiſter poiſon, there was no extenſive conſpiracy, no operoſe preparation neceſſary: In retirement, ſorcery and witchcraft, of which ſuſpicions were ſuggeſted, might be employed, even more ſecurely than in the midſt of the Court. The Lady Glammis, with the other perſons accuſed as her accomplices, were therefore taken into cuſtody. The lady herſelf was brought to trial, and condemned. On the fifth day after the ſentence of her condemnation had been pronounced, ſhe was beheaded on the caſtle-hill at Edinburgh. The people beheld her execution with indignation and ſorrow; affected with her perſonal beauty, and the dignity of her deportment; remembering the former greatneſs, and the preſent misfortunes of her family; and being inclined to believe her innocent of a crime which had, at leaſt, proceeded as yet no farther than intention. Campbell her huſband periſhed in an attempt to eſcape by a rope over the caſtle-wall. Her ſon, although ſpared on account of his tender years, was, however, detained in confinement during the remainder of

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of James's reign. The prieſt who had been accuſed with them, was at length ſet at liberty as innocent.—Nor was it in this inſtance alone, that James ſhewed his former reſentment againſt the houſe of Angus, ſtill to burn fierce in his boſom. Archibald Douglas, the uncle of Angus, who had ſhared the power and odium of his nephew's miniſtry; unable to languiſh patiently in exile, at a diſtance from thoſe ſcenes of which the image was impreſſed upon his memory, as the favourite haunts of his youth and manhood; ventured to return deſperately into Scotland, that he might preſent himſelf in his Sovereign's preſence, and might either obtain his pardon, or be ſacrificed to his rage. James, ſeeing Archibald Douglas approach him, as he returned from hunting, into Stirling-caſtle; ſaid to his attendants, *Yonder comes my* Grey Steel; for ſo had he been accuſtomed familiarly to denominate the uncle of Angus. But, when Douglas, kneeling as he paſſed, humbly craved his pardon, the King rode on, and vouchſafed not to anſwer his requeſt. His heart ſeems however to have half-relented at the ſight of his ancient friend. He bade his ſervants treat him not unkindly; ſaid, he would have forgiven him, had he not bound himſelf by an oath, never to pardon the treaſon of the Douglaſes; and then, rather in favour than in anger, ſent his commands to Archibald to retire to France, and there await his

his farther pleaſure. The rejected ſuppliant obeyed, and in France not long after died *.

James negociates a ſecond marriage for himſelf.

But, the welfare of his kingdom would not permit that James ſhould long remain a widower. His mother, whoſe high paſſions he ſeems to have in a great degree inherited, was now no more. He was left alone without any dear domeſtic ſociety; with no near kindred around him, in whoſe attachment he might repoſe a confidence ſufficient to ſoothe that ſuſpiciouſneſs of ſpirit, which ſeemed to be faſt becoming the predominant temperament of his mind. It was, beſides, neceſſary that he ſhould ſeek again to provide, in the legitimate offspring of marriage, an heir to ſucceed him, with inconteſted right, upon his throne: for his father's couſin, the Duke of Albany, had reſigned into his hands the caſtle of Dunbar, and was ſince dead, without leaving iſſue; and ſhould James himſelf die childleſs, an endleſs competition might again ariſe among his more diſtant, collateral kindred, to diſtract the kingdom, and perhaps again to ſubject its independence to ſome foreign power. Once more, therefore, James was to ſend an embaſſy to wooe for him a bride in France. James Beaton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and David his nephew, Abbot of Aberbrothwick, had gradually ariſen, after the fall of the Douglaſes, to an aſcendency

* Lindſay: Hume, &c.

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dency in James's councils, of which their abilities and their discretion seem to have rendered them not unworthy. Their influence was rivalled only by that of the Hamiltons; among whom Sir James, the Earl of Arran's natural son, was a man of eminent talents for war and for political intrigue, but of a dark and cruel spirit. David Beaton, now exalted, in consequence of the recent death of his uncle to the Primacy of Scotland; was accordingly sent, with Lord Erskine, to solicit in marriage for his widowed Sovereign, Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guise, and widow to the Duke of Longueville; a lady in the prime of her years, and of distinguished beauty, whom James had himself seen and admired when he formerly visited the Court of France. The embassy proved successful. James, informed by the letters of his ambassadors, sent the Lord Maxwell and the Master of Glencairn, with a gallant train of young nobility, and a suitable number of ships, to bring home this second bride. The marriage was celebrated at Paris; James being, in the solemnity, represented by proxy. The young Queen, the Scottish ambassadors, and all the nuptial train, sailing from Dieppe, arrived safe at Fifeness in the month of June in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight. The King waiting her arrival at St Andrew's, hastened out to receive her. The marriage-ceremony was again

again celebrated, and the marriage conſummated at St Andrew's. After ſome time there ſpent, in feſtivities ſuitable to the happy occaſion; James conducted his Queen in a gay and ſumptuous progreſs through the principal burghs of his kingdom; in all which they were received with abundant demonſtrations of joy and loyalty. Mary expreſſed a ſatisfaction with the manners of the Scots, and with their country, by which ſhe was doubly endeared to her huſband, and to his ſubjects: and James forgot the ſorrows of his widowhood in the chaſte, connubial joys of his ſecond marriage.—For four natural ſons, born to him by Scottiſh maidens whom he had ſeduced, he had already made proviſion, by appropriating for their ſupport, the Abbies and Priories of Melroſe, Kelſo, Coldingham, the Holyrood, and St Andrew's; affording all together a revenue hardly inferior to that of the Crown itſelf *.

Progreſs of the reformation in Scotland.

Amidſt this progreſs of the civil and military affairs of Scotland, under James the Fifth, the ſame kindling light of curioſity and knowledge which elſewhere taught men to queſtion or reject the authority of the received ſyſtem of religion, began to operate here alſo with a ſimilar power. Long before this period, the diſciples of Wickliffe from England, and even of Huſs and Jerome

* Lindſay: Leſly, &c.

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from Germany, had begun to diſſeminate their new doctrines in Scotland; and had in ſeveral inſtances been condemned by the jealous clergy, to approve their faith by ſuffering the pains of martyrdom. *The blood of the martyrs has ever been the ſeed of the church.* In ſpite of all the clergy's cruelty and vigilance, the doctrines which they ſtrove to ſuppreſs, continually gained new ground. The cheerfulneſs with which the condemned reformers were ſeen to endure their dying ſufferings; that ſpirit of religious curioſity which was ſtimulated, not more by their preaching, than by the eager jealouſy with which the arm of eccleſiaſtical power was raiſed againſt them; the natural progreſs of knowledge in the ſchools and univerſities at home; new communications from abroad; the fame of what was done in Germany; the nearer knowledge of the mighty and ſudden revolution of eccleſiaſtical power, newly accompliſhed in England; with a variety of other cauſes adapted to operate powerfully upon the principles of human nature; had already drawn many converts among the Scots, to embrace the new opinions, and had not inconſiderably diminiſhed that ancient veneration with which the Scottiſh nation in general had long regarded all the doctrines and ceremonies of the Romiſh church. During the adminiſtration of the Earl of Angus, to whom the Hamiltons were politically obnoxious; Hamilton,

milton, Abbot of Ferne, and nephew to the Earl of Arran, a young man diſtinguiſhed alike for extraordinary learning, ſpotleſs purity of morals, and meek, humble, fervent piety; had been brought to trial for hereſy, before an inquiſitorial court of laymen and eccleſiaſtics; found guilty upon his own confeſſion; condemned to the flames; and executed at St Andrew's. At a later period, Norman Galloway Vicar of Dolour, and David Straiton, brother to the *Laird* of Lauriеſton *, had, for the ſame pretended crime, been conſigned to the ſame fate. The fancied evil daily ſpread wider, and rooted itſelf more deeply. The fears and jealouſies of the clergy were continually augmented. Their inquiſition was dreadfully rigorous. And Hamilton of Evandale, Arran's natural brother, being charged with the care of conducting its inquiries, accuſations, and trials; made theſe yet more terrible and ſevere, by the natural ferocity of his mind, and the ſettled cruelty of his temper †.

Advances made to James by his uncle Henry.

But the King of England, involved by the caprice and impetuoſity of his own paſſions, in innumerable troubles; having now by divorce, and by unjuſt execution, repeatedly widowed his bed; having renounced all eccleſiaſtical allegiance to the See of Rome; having ſpoiled the Engliſh

* In the ſhire of Kincardine.

† Eoſdem quos ſupra: Melville's Memoirs: Knox's Hiſtory.

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church of many of its moſt valuable endowments; dreading the deſigns of foreign powers, and the machinations of Papiſts at home and abroad: Made now ſome wavering, uncertain efforts, to ſupport the intereſts of the reformation he had effected in England, by entering into political connections with the ſtates profeſſing the reformed religion in Germany; and by perſuading his nephew of Scotland to follow his example, to throw off alſo the authority of the Biſhop of Rome, and to enrich himſelf with the plunder of the Church. In regard to Scotland, he was peculiarly anxious to accompliſh his purpoſe; becauſe James, a Prince of high character throughout Europe, being ſo nearly allied to the Engliſh throne, might, upon Henry's deceaſe, be ſet up in prejudice to his children, by the Roman Catholics in Britain and abroad, as the only lawful heir to the Engliſh throne. For this reaſon, to detach James from the intereſts of Rome, Henry ſent, about this time, an illuſtrious embaſſy into Scotland. The ambaſſadors were, Lord William Howard and the Biſhop of St David's. They invited James, in Henry's name, to meet their Sovereign in a conference at York; and promiſed to gratify him, if he ſhould comply with their maſter's wiſhes, with whatever an opulent and prodigal King could beſtow, to ſupply the wants of an humbler and poorer neighbour. James, partly reverencing the authority

rity of ſo great a King, the brother of his mother; and being in part not averſe from thoſe deſigns upon the wealth of the church, which Henry's cloſer alliance would naturally favour and encourage; agreed at firſt to meet the Engliſh King at the propoſed place of interview, and diſmiſſed his ambaſſadors with ſuch an anſwer as their maſter deſired. No ſooner were thoſe intentions of the Monarch publicly known, than all the favourers of the reformation in Scotland began to flatter themſelves with hopes, that Henry's advices to his nephew would at leaſt put an end to the rage of perſecution: while the Scottiſh clergy began to tremble as if the authority of their order had been already overthrown, and their poſſeſſions raviſhed from them. Anxious, therefore, to avert the impending danger, the clergy eagerly made offer to the King of an annual free gift of fifty thouſand crowns, if he would yet refuſe to attend his uncle at the expected interview; promiſed to ſupply, even with their whole fortunes, the expences of war with England, if war ſhould enſue; and held out to his imagination the proſpect of greater wealth to be obtained from the condemned heretics, than if all the revenues of the church were ſacrilegiouſly ſeized. James was needy and avaricious. David Beaton, the head of his clergy, was, at the ſame time, his favourite counſellor, and a man of conſummate ability and addreſs.

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addreſs. Hamilton of Evandale, too, exalted by the influence of the clergy, to preſide over their inquiſition, was thus bound to their intereſts. James therefore accepted his clergy's offers; conſented to adopt the meaſures which they had perſuaded; and refuſed to meet Henry at York, after this proud Monarch had already come thither on account of the propoſed interview *.

State of parties in Scotland.

While Henry, beyond meaſure exaſperated at the diſappointment, reſolved to avenge it by a ſpeedy declaration of war againſt Scotland; the Scots were divided into two parties, with almoſt a preponderancy in favour of the Engliſh intereſts. The faction of Angus; which might be conſidered in ſome meaſure as the remains of that faction of the houſe of Douglas which James the Second had with difficulty overthrown; although humbled, was not exterminated, but ſtill lurked in conſiderable force in all parts of the kingdom. To ſtrengthen this faction, there had been added, all whoſe crimes had been puniſhed, whoſe wiſhes had been denied, whoſe ambition thwarted, by the diſcerning wiſdom, or the haughty paſſions of James. The private enemies of his miniſters, of the crafty Beatons, of the ferocious and dark-minded Hamilton, of Oliver Sinclair, and other meaner perſons, the envied objects of his perſonal favour,

* Eoſdem quos ſupra, &c.

favour, were also secretly inclined to counteract their Sovereign's purposes. But, above all, the favourers of the Reformation, which had been, within these few last years, advancing with giant strides; whether sincerely concerned for the interests of true religion, or dazzled by the seductions of novelty, or fearful for their own safety, or burning with ardour to avenge their friends whom persecution had slaughtered, or looking with greedy and rapacious eyes towards the rich emoluments of the Church; were already sufficiently numerous to compose a party, of itself, almost powerful to sway, directly or indirectly, the force and the counsels of the state *.

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Fall of Sir James Hamilton.

One of the first efforts of those cabals which were thus formed among the Scots, for the purpose of opposing the influence of the clergy and their partizans, was directed against Sir James Hamilton. Hamilton had long enjoyed considerable favour with his Sovereign; rather, however, as an able and daring servant, ready to execute any measure, however flagitious; than on account of any thing in his nature or manners, which could make his society peculiarly acceptable to James. At different times, he had drawn upon himself the Monarch's anger: but hitherto, whatever gusts of the royal resentment had been excited

* Lindsay: Lesly: Melville: Knox, &c.

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excited againſt him, had ſtill paſſed harmleſs over. James ſtill continued to truſt and to employ him; yet could not help regarding his character with a degree of evident ſuſpicion, which might ſoon be inflamed to burſt forth in deſtructive fury. Even at this time, while Hamilton was, with great earneſtneſs, urging the proſecution of ſuſpected heretics; his royal maſter ſent him largely furniſhed with money, to repair and enlarge the caſtle of Rotheſay in the iſle of Bute. On the next day after the commiſſion had been given, James, paſſing from Edinburgh to Falkland, was, on his way, accoſted by another Hamilton, ſon to the ſheriff of Linlithgow, who repreſented, that he had a charge of ſecret treaſon to diſcloſe. The King referred the informer to his principal officers who remained behind at Edinburgh; and gave him a ring to deliver to them as a token that he came by the King's authority. With ſeeming aſtoniſhment, but not without a malicious ſatisfaction, they heard Sir James Hamilton charged by this young man, the ſon of his couſin, with the crimes —of correſpondence with the exiled traitors of the houſe of Angus,—and of a purpoſe, often attempted, hitherto fruſtrated, but not relinquiſhed, for putting the King to death.—Afraid leſt Hamilton, though thus accuſed, ſhould yet by his influence with his Sovereign, eſcape the ſnare, they immediately took him into cuſtody, and conducted

ducted him a priſoner to the caſtle of Edinburgh. Theſe ſteps being taken; both Sir James Hamilton and the officers by whom he had been caſt into priſon, wrote inſtantly, he to complain to his Sovereign, and ſolicit his favour;—they to communicate thoſe accuſations, upon hearing which they had adopted ſo bold a meaſure. James at firſt inclined to favour Hamilton, and paſſionately to blame his enemies; was no ſooner informed of the crimes alledged againſt him, than he himſelf recalled to mind a thouſand things which ſeemed to ſupport the charge; and all thoſe cauſes of anger, ruſhed afreſh upon his recollection, which, reſpect to Hamilton's uſeful ſervice, had formerly induced him to overlook. Inſtead of giving orders to ſet Hamilton at liberty, he now repaired in furious haſte to Edinburgh; removed the priſoner from temporary and honourable cuſtody in the caſtle, to the *tolbooth* of the city, the priſon for malefactors; brought him to ſpeedy trial before an aſſize, which was compoſed chiefly of his enemies; and when he was condemned, impatiently inflicted upon him the moſt rigorous puniſhment of that treaſon of which he was perhaps not unjuſtly convicted. Hamilton's fall, at the ſame time while it weakened the party of the church, and of thoſe who were the moſt entirely devoted to pay an implicit obedience to the King's commands; ſtruck aghaſt the whole nation;

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and particularly almoſt all the nobility; who now began to think, that no rank, no affluence, no favour, could ſecure them from being, at one time or another, ſacrificed to the capricious jealouſies, and the tyrannical cruelty of their King. Even of thoſe who were the moſt attached to the Monarch, many began now to compare the preſent times with thoſe when James the Third had been made priſoner at his barons' pleaſure, and at laſt cut off by their rebellion. The compariſon ſuggeſted an example: the ſeaſon ſeemed to them to ſay that it was now almoſt time to follow it *.

Progreſs of the quarrel with Henry.

In the mean time the two neighbouring Monarchs, the haughty uncle, and his no leſs haughty nephew, breathed nothing but mutual reſentment and defiances. Henry would not bear unrevenged, that inſult which James had offered him, by refuſing to fulfil his promiſe of meeting him at York. James thought with uncontroulable indignation—of his uncle's threats, of the protection which the rebels, exiled from his dominions, had found at the Engliſh Court, of that contemptuous pride, with which Henry had ever affected to look upon him as a petty Prince, exiſting but by *his* ſufferance. Henry was the firſt to commence hoſtilities. His ſhips of war beſetting the entrance into the frith of Forth, captured

* Lindſay: Leſly: &c. &c.

tured no fewer than eight and twenty Scottiſh merchant veſſels, as theſe returned from, or ſailed out for the ports of France, Flanders, or Denmark. Nor had James yet reſolved whether to ſeek redreſs for this injury by force of arms, when news was brought to him, that Sir George Bowes, with a force of three thouſand Engliſhmen, had, by Henry's command, made an inroad upon the Scottiſh frontiers. To repulſe the invaders, he inſtantly diſpatched the Earl of Huntley, and Walter Lindſay Prior of Torphichen, a gallant and experienced knight of the military order of St John of Jeruſalem, with ten thouſand men under their command. For ſome time the two hoſtile armies watched each other's motions on the eaſtern borders; waiting each an opportunity to ſtrike the adverſary with ſome fatal blow. While the Scots lay between Jedburgh and Kelſo, the Engliſh imagined that they had at laſt found an opportunity of falling upon them by ſurpriſe. They advanced. With Bowes were now the baniſhed Earl of Angus and his brother George, ſeveral of the Piercies, Sir Ralph Sadler, and other diſtinguiſhed knights of the names of Layton, Witherington, Heron, and Ivers. It was about day-break when they came within ſight of the Scots; and, to their aſtoniſhment, they beheld theſe enemies whom they propoſed to ſurpriſe, already aware of their approach, drawn out in battle, and coming

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on to encounter them, in a disciplined order, and with an aspect of martial ardour, which struck terror into their hearts, and made them at once despair of victory. Hardly awaiting the first onset, the English thus disappointed and confounded, turned their backs, and fled. Several of the most distinguished knights among them were made prisoners. A number of the common soldiers were slain in the flight. *Halden-rig* was the name of the scene of action. The news of this first success in the commencement of the war, was singularly grateful to the Scottish King *.

James leads an army to the borders.

In spite of this success, James was far from being able to make the war popular among his subjects. It was the misery of the feudal form of government, that, while it on the one hand, seemed to confer on the Sovereign, the absolute authority in some instances of a despot, it on the other left the aristocracy in many cases almost in a state of lawless freedom. This spirit of the civil constitution over which he presided, concurring with the state of parties and opinions among his barons; was rapidly kindling up a contention between James and his nobles. It seemed, too, as if the event of the battle of Flowden had for ever broken the lofty spirits of the Scots, as if the genius of England had in that fatal day bound the

* Eosdem quos supra.

the guardian angel of Scotland in fetters which he was never to ſhake off. Much of fear for what the ſtrength of England might again atchieve; much of a temper of oppoſition to their Sovereign's counſels; much of a partiality for the reformation, and of a dread of thoſe forfeitures by which the clergy had propoſed to enrich the Crown; conſpired to make the Scottiſh nobles in general averſe from the proſecution of the war. But, the conditions of their tenures obliged them to attend in arms, at leaſt for forty days in the year, their King's commands: And James, warned of the approach of the Duke of Norfolk at the head of a great army to revenge the late diſaſter of Bowes; ſummoned all his military vaſſals to repair to his ſtandard and follow him to the borders. They came. Muſtered on the Burrough-moor at Edinburgh, they marched hence ſouthward as far as Fala and Lawder. Thus far advanced toward the border, it became neceſſary to conſult, what meaſures they ſhould next purſue: Beſides, within the three days conſumed in their march hither, the diſcontented barons had found means to communicate to one another their ſentiments concerning public affairs, and to reflect on their ſtrength to bend the King's counſels to their wiſhes. Refractory to the King's commands, moſt of the conſiderable men in the army met in an irregular tumultuary aſſembly, not convened by

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by the King's authority; and propoſals were then produced, highly derogating from his power. In vain did James ſend to requeſt them to march onwards into England. Of two things propoſed; that they ſhould content themſelves with a defenſive war, without paſſing beyond their own borders; that they ſhould ſeize and puniſh the King's miniſters, as their anceſtors had in this very place puniſhed the miniſters of James the Third; they unanimouſly agreed to the firſt, and hardly rejected the latter. Lawder was a fatal and ominous ſcene. James, therefore, his heart almoſt burſting with the anguiſh of diſappointment and indignant rage, haſtily left his diſobedient army, and returned from Lawder to Edinburgh. The Duke of Norfolk in the mean time, had either not ventured to advance within the Scottiſh limits, or, when he ſaw the moderation of the Scots, had again retired. The Scottiſh army delayed not to follow the example; but decamping, returned every one to his own home *.

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Battle of Solway-moſs, &c.

James indignant alike that he had been diſobeyed by his barons, and that he had been obliged to retire from before the Engliſh without fighting; ſoon reſolved to muſter another army, and to make a new attempt againſt the Engliſh on the ſide of the weſtern marches. On the fifteenth

* Buchanan: Leſly: Lindſay: &c. &c.

teenth of November, paſſing to Peebles, he ſummoned the attendance particularly of his military vaſſals of the ſouth-weſt counties. They aſſembled to follow him, and he then directed his progreſs by Moffat into Annandale, and onwards to where the Eſk marks the meeting confines of Scotland and England. Here, however, as before, his barons ſtill perſiſted in limiting their military ſervice to the operations of defenſive war. James's rage and threats were vain: they ſtill retained their purpoſe. Retiring therefore backward to the caſtle of Lochmaben, he left his favourite Oliver Sinclair, in whom he was inclined to confide rather than in Maxwell warden of the weſtern marches; to command in his own abſence, the army which he left, at leaſt for obſervation and defenſive warfare. But, they who would not at the bidding of their King, advance to attack the Engliſh; would not for his lieutenant, even maintain their ground, and defend themſelves when they were attacked. At Solway-moſs, Sir George Wharton with comparatively but an handful of Engliſhmen; while the Scots were diſcontent with their leader, uncertain whether to fight or flee, entangled in the dangerous paſſage of a creek with which they were unacquainted; put the whole Scottiſh forces to flight, ſlew more than thirty of their number, and made about a thouſand priſoners, and among thoſe, ſixty men of rank.

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rank. James receiving the news in Lochmaben-caſtle, inſtantly departed eaſtward, and paſſed firſt to Edinburgh, and ſoon after to Falkland. At Falkland the ſhame, indignation, and deſpair which preyed upon his ſpirits, threw him into a fever. He rapidly ſickened: No conſolation could re-animate him: The news that his Queen at Linlithgow had juſt born him a daughter, but embittered inſtead of alleviating his anguiſh. After a very few days illneſs, he died. Cardinal Beaton aſſiduouſly beſieged the deathbed of his departing Sovereign; till at laſt, when James's faculties hardly retained any ſenſe of the things of this world, the prieſt wrung from him, what he afterwards produced as his will, appointing Beaton to be Regent of the kingdom after his death, and guardian to his infant daughter. His death happened on the thirteenth day of December, in the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-two, the thirty-third year of his age, the thirty-ſecond of his reign *.

Character of James the Fifth.

James the Fifth was undeniably a man of no mean virtues and talents. The powers of his mind were fully equal to the duties of government. In the moſt ſtriking features of his character, he bears a conſpicuous reſemblance to his illuſtrious anceſtor, James the Firſt. He was leſs learned;

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

learned; he was not, like James the First, a judge and a master of the fine arts. But in vigilance, in activity, in clear discernment, and quick and firm decision, James the Fifth seems rather to have excelled, than to have fallen short of, his great-great-grandfather. Educated as he was among men who were interested to maintain him as long as possible in the mental imbecility of childhood; it is surprising that his heart and manners were not more corrupted, nor his understanding more impaired and debased, than they appear to have been. But, in truth, nature and circumstances ever influence our education infinitely more than all the pains, and all the neglect of parents, guardians and instructors.—When the policy of James the Fifth and of his four immediate predecessors, is carefully examined; we cannot judge them to have acted upon any enlarged, systematic plan for humbling their nobility, and for exalting the regal power. No; plans so extensive, and requiring so much political sagacity, and such an abstraction of the views of the mind from present interests and passions; were never framed by any one Sovereign of this age: Far less could they be pursued in such a country as Scotland, by a series of Kings, no one of whom was formed to govern under his father's eye. But, it was the nature of the feudal government to place Kings and their great vassals in a state of eternal warfare,

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arising from a constant collision of their ordinary interests and passions. Policy extending its views to vast and remote objects, was not necessary to set a King and his barons at continual variance; for the narrow interests and passions of common life were equal to the effect. If Lewis the Eleventh of France, if Henry the Seventh of England, accomplished in a considerable degree, the general humiliation of the great vassals of their respective Crowns; that general humiliation resulted from the principles of human nature and from the necessary laws of social life, not from the narrow designs and short-sighted counsels of the Monarchs to whom it has been attributed. James the First of Scotland, when he almost exterminated the family of his uncle, the Duke of Albany, was actuated by personal resentment, by care for his personal safety, by a desire to avenge the wrongs of his father and his murdered brother, by a wish to recover the alienated patrimony of the Crown; not by extended views of humbling his nobility in general, and of altering the civil constitution of his kingdom. Having cut off so many traitors with a firm unrelenting severity, from the idea of which, the minds of many of his other barons, revolted with indignation and with horror; he was forced in self-defence, from fear, caution, and suspicion, to pursue the blow. James the Second was involved in the quarrel with the family

of

of Douglas, ſolely in conſequence of the overgrown greatneſs of that one houſe. He would have gladly lived at peace with them, if the laſt but one of the Earls of Douglas *could have borne his faculties meekly.* From firſt to laſt, it was a perſonal and unavoidable competition with a particular houſe, not a coolly-formed plan of policy, which prompted the whole train of thoſe meaſures by which the Douglaſes were, in their principal branch, by him at laſt overthrown. The Humes, the Hepburns, and the Douglaſes of Angus, the remains of the faction of the Earls of Douglas, whoſe vaſſals they had all been; firſt ſtirred up diſcord between James the Third and his brothers; and then, when they had driven him to bereave himſelf of theſe *his two arms*, followed out the meaſures of the fallen Earls of Douglas,—but for their own intereſts alone,—and deſtroyed their Sovereign. This was no conteſt between the Sovereign and his whole nobility; but the proſecution merely of private and perſonal intereſts and views, inherited from a fallen family by their vaſſals who were ambitious to inherit the poſſeſſions and power of their ancient Lords. James the Fourth was ſuffered to reign in peace; becauſe he permitted the Humes and Douglaſes to domineer on the borders, and becauſe the two oppoſite parties of his nobility were counterbalanced nearly in equipoize; while he himſelf was abſolutely a

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ſtranger to all plans againſt their general opulence, ſecurity, and power. It was with Angus his perſonal enemy, and with the faction of Angus, that James the Fifth was at variance; as Albany had been oppoſed by the Humes and the Douglaſes, becauſe he reclaimed his father's earldom of March, and thus brought his own private intereſts into competition with theirs. —In the character of James the Fifth, we diſcover the high paſſions of a young man, poſſeſſing numerous advantages of nature and of fortune, and as yet too inexperienced in life, to know with how many ills it is at every ſtep ſurrounded,—ills ſufficient to humble the pride of the moſt inſolent, and to wither the hope and confidence in the breaſt of the moſt ſanguinely preſumptuous—of mankind. James had the fortune to be celebrated by the moſt illuſtrious poet, in the only poliſhed modern tongue of the age in which he lived. *Arioſto;* whoſe inchanting poem of *Orlando Furioſo*, was adapted by the extent, the grandeur, and the wild irregularity of its plan, to celebrate all the moſt admired knights and ladies of the age in which he lived; has imortalized the character and attractive qualities of James, under the perſon of Zerbino, one of the moſt amiable of his heroes. The great *Caledonian* foreſt, too, is by the ſame Prince of Italian poets, celebrated in a manner by which we may be perhaps induced

induced to think, that the Papal legate, after his return to Italy, had ſpoken much of that ſumptuous and wildly magnificent feaſt with which James and his Court were entertained in the foreſts of Athole, by the Earl of that diſtrict. Beſides, the daughter born to him, while he was in his laſt agonies, James had by his Queen, Mary of Lorrain, two ſons, James and Arthur, who both died in infancy, before their father. By other ladies who had admitted his unlawful embraces, he left no fewer than five natural ſons, and one natural daughter. James was buried at Edinburgh in the chapel of the abbey of the Holy-rood, in the ſame grave in which the body of his firſt wife, Magdalen, had before been laid. His funeral was conducted in magnificent and ſolemn pomp. *Black robes* were for the ſecond time, in Scotland, worn upon this occaſion, as a dreſs of formal mourning. And even of thoſe nobles who had oppoſed the meaſures of his government, not a few ſincerely bewailed his death *.

* Leſly: Crawfurd's Hiſtory of the Stewarts.

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Chapter VI.

From the death of James the Fifth, to the return of his daughter Mary, a widow, out of France.

Condition of Scotland after the death of James the Fifth.

JAMES the Fifth was no more. The remains of the faction of Angus had no longer to dread his vengeance. The clergy could no longer triumph in his fupport, and transform him from a wife and beneficent Monarch, to a dæmon of perfecution. The inevitable fate of mankind had delivered Henry the Eighth from the oppofition of a nephew whofe abilities he dreaded, and by whofe obftinacy he had been enraged. Scotland was again to be expofed for a long feries of years, as a fhip without a pilot, as a prize for which the intrigues of foreign Kings and politicians, and the fierce and irreconcileable ambition of its own nobles, fhould contend, till they had wafted, mangled, and almoft deftroyed or torn it piecemeal. A new principle of faction and of policy was to be fully developed, and was, by its influence, to change the diftribution, the views, the meafures, and the intereſts of parties, not more within Scotland, than among the foreign nations who concerned themfelves in Scottifh affairs. Scotland was to become, in fome fort, almoft as much the theatre of

of mutual oppoſition between France and England, as Italy had been the ſcene of ſimilar conteſt between France and Spain.

Intrigues for the power of the adminiſtration.

After James's death and funeral; the firſt grand emotion which actuated the minds of men throughout the kingdom, was of ſorrow for his premature fall; the ſecond was an anxiety of fear and hope in regard to the ſettlement of the government during the minority of his infant daughter. The powers of government, whatever the energy which theſe ſtill poſſeſſed, neceſſarily remained as yet in the hands of the eccleſiaſtical party, of Beaton their leader, of thoſe nobles who had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Church, and who had ſhewn themſelves leſs backward than the reſt, to follow James to the invaſion of England. With this party of the Church, and of thoſe who were the moſt devoted to the will of the late King, naturally coaleſced, all they who were ſtill diſpoſed to prefer the alliance of France to that of the Engliſh; for the cauſes of England, of reformation in religion, and of the exiles of the party of Angus, being one and the ſame; all who were ſeparately in oppoſition to theſe, were, of courſe, likewiſe forced into union. With Beaton and the three combined intereſts which he naturally directed, the Queen-dowager, the kinſwoman of France,

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France, therefore took part; and committed herſelf and her infant daughter chiefly to Beaton's care. Availing himſelf of theſe advantages, the Cardinal immediately aſpired to the regency; and to give efficacy to his claims, produced a Will, which he had either forged in his late Sovereign's name, or had procured the dying Monarch to ſign, when he was no longer capable of attending to its contents. By this deed, the future care of the government, and the guardianſhip of the infant Queen, were intruſted to that powerful and cunning eccleſiaſtic, who might indeed be, on many accounts, regarded as the fitteſt perſon for the charge. His claims ſeemed to be ſucceſsful; and his authority was about to be eſtabliſhed. Yet knowing the ſtrength of the party which he had to oppoſe; and conſcious of a want of right in his own pretenſions; he did not immediaiely ſummon a convention of the eſtates of parliament; but delayed till every thing ſhould have been cautiouſly prepared to make their deciſion favourable to him, or till time ſhould in its lapſe, bring forth ſome new events which might unnerve the oppoſition he had to fear *.

State of parties.

But, the party whoſe intereſts ſtood in hoſtility to his, were, at leaſt, with equal zeal and activity, ſtrengthening themſelves to meet and overthrow

* Leſly: Buchanan: Melville: Knox, &c.

throw Beaton and his friends. Beaton, like every other man who has long filled an eminent ſtation, had many perſonal enemies; whoſe hatred was exaſperated to new activity, when they ſaw him aſpire ſo high, even above the grandeur of his preſent condition; and who now eaſily communicated their ſentiments to many that had, in regard to him, been before neutral. Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the grandſon of the ſiſter of James the Third, as the neareſt legitimate collateral relation to the young Queen, had a *right* to the regency, by the ſame law by which the Duke of Albany had been called in to adminiſter the government during the minority of the late King: And Arran, although a young and a weak man, could not but be *diſpoſed* to make good his own rights: *diſpoſitions* and *rights* by which he was fitted to become the oſtenſible head of Beaton's opponents, and an uſeful tool in their hands. Above all, the Engliſh King having within his power, a number of the prime nobility of Scotland, who had been made priſoners at Solway-moſs; treated them not as captive enemies; but winning them by kindneſs to his intereſts; laid aſide every purpoſe of haraſſing Scotland by farther hoſtilities; and diſmiſſed them under the direction of Angus and his brother George, to oppoſe, in the Scottiſh councils, the enemies of England, and to bring the Scottiſh government

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into a ſubſerviency to the intereſts of the Engliſh Crown. Angus and his kindred returning with all the weight of Henry's favour to ſupport them, were of themſelves naturally diſpoſed, if not to wreak their vengeance furiouſly upon Beaton, one of their ancient enemies, at leaſt to depreſs his preſent power, and to oppoſe his farther aggrandizement. That party whoſe religious opinions made them adverſe to the eſtabliſhed church, were, beſides, every day augmented: and every day, the ſeverities which were exerciſed againſt them, and thoſe, ſtill more cruel, which were threatened; excited them to new indignation againſt Cardinal Beaton, their moſt eminent adverſary; and drove them to conſider even their perſonal ſafety, as abſolutely incompatible with aught in reſpect to him, but the abſolute overthrow of his greatneſs, and the diſſolution of his party *.

The Earl of Arran advanced to the regency.

A CONVENTION was therefore ſummoned to meet at Edinburgh, for the ſettlement of the new government. Beaton and his party were there outnumbered and overawed. The pretenſions of Arran, eſpouſed and ſupported by all the favourers of the Engliſh intereſt, and by all the friends to religious reformation; were fully allowed. The attainder of the Douglaſes, was reverſed. The caſtle of Edinburgh, the palace of Falkland, the

* Buchanan: Leſly: Lindſay: Knox: &c. &c.

the treaſures of the late King, were committed to the cuſtody of Arran, thus inveſted with all the powers and honours of the regency. Of the officers of the adminiſtration under the late King, ſome were diſmiſſed, others retained, at the pleaſure of the new governor. The young Queen with her mother, were left for a time at Linlithgow, under the particular care of Lord Livingſtone; and were afterwards, with due reſpect, conducted to Stirling. Arran, already openly favourable to the reformers, did not withdraw his regard, in conſequence of the advancement of his fortune: And the terrors of perſecution being thus greatly diminiſhed, the ſucceſs of the new doctrines in religion was, hence, in a tenfold proportion increaſed *.

Negociations with England.

It was, however, by the authority chiefly of the Engliſh faction, that the views of Beaton had been thus far defeated, and the ambition of Hamilton gratified, and the fears of the reformers relieved. About the ſame time as the exiles and captives, came an ambaſſador from England, commiſſioned to make propoſals in his maſter's name to the eſtates of Scotland, which Angus, and thoſe who accompanied him home, had already engaged to ſupport. Succeſsful by Henry's favour, Hamilton and his friends were bound to promote

* Eoſdem: Skene's Acts.

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promote Henry's wiſhes. And all the enemies of Beaton, by the extruſion of him from the regency, throwing themſelves upon England for protection; made themſelves, in this act, the creatures of the Engliſh King. Henry, who viewed the Scots from the height of his pride and ſelf-congratulation, as at once melted by his generoſity, and overawed by the terror of his arms; propoſed to himſelf, no leſs than to obtain from thoſe ancient enemies, an immediate treaty for the marriage of their infant Queen with his ſon Edward, and the deliverance of the perſon of Mary into his hands, that ſhe might be educated at his Court. Nor had he, for this time, judged greatly amiſs. In their firſt fluſh of gratitude, the united parties in Scotland, which favoured the Engliſh intereſt, were indeed diſpoſed to grant almoſt every thing. Sadler, Henry's ambaſſador, a man of addreſs, liberally diſtributed money, and cunningly ſpread the meſhes of intrigue. In vain did Cardinal Beaton, with all who were faithful to the intereſts of the Church, all who were ſubject to the influence of France, and all who yet cheriſhed deep in their hearts, the ancient hatred againſt England; oppoſe the acceptance of Henry's propoſals, in the parliament which was aſſembled to deliberate upon them. Their cabals, their eloquence, their tumultuous endeavours to interrupt the diſcuſſion, were overpowered. The propoſals preſented by Sadler

Sadler, were, with ſome variation, accepted: And the Scottiſh parliament, with the Regent at their head, agreed to give their Queen in marriage to the ſon of Henry; and when ſhe ſhould have attained the age of ten years, to conduct her to the Engliſh Court. Beaton, on account of his pertinacious oppoſition to theſe meaſures, was ſent into confinement, firſt to the caſtle of Dalkeith, and afterwards to his own Archiepiſcopal caſtle of St Andrew's, under the cuſtody of Lord Seaton *.

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These meaſures, ſo deciſively adverſe to the influence of France, and which ſeemed to ſtrike an irrecoverable blow againſt the party of the clergy; excited a general and almoſt deſpondent alarm among the worſted faction, by which they were aroused to exertions that were yet, for a time, to avert their final ruin. The clergy furniſhed a large contribution of money, to be diſtributed ſecretly for the ſupport of their intereſts, and in order to diſappoint the views of England. The Queen-dowager, paſſionately averſe from an alliance which threatened to cut Scotland for ever off from all connection with France, the land of her nativity; employed, to diſconcert the new meaſures, an influence of intrigue for which her talents and addreſs were eminently well qualified.

Events favourable to Beaton and his party.

Beaton,

* Buchanan; Leſly; Knox; Sadler's Letters, &c.

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Beaton, alſo, poſſeſſed of abilities to ſway the minds of men, and to turn the hearts of his opponents almoſt at his pleaſure; by various arts, ſoon contrived to win the favour of thoſe by whom he was confined. And, what was, beyond all things things elſe, fortunate to the cauſe which Beaton maintained; Hamilton Abbot of Paiſley, natural brother to Arran the Regent, and conſiderably older than he; returned, at this time, from France, at once zealouſly hoſtile to all innovations in religion, and able, with Beaton's aid, to exerciſe an abſolute and irreſiſtible influence over his brother's mind. The King of France, too, warned of the danger there was, that Scotland might now fall irrecoverably under the yoke of England; diſpatched into Scotland, the young Earl of Lennox, the grandſon of the aunt of Arran, and after the young Queen, and Arran himſelf, the third in the proſpect of the ſucceſſion to the Scottiſh Crown; who might, in conſequence of theſe circumſtances, either detach the Regent from the Engliſh intereſts, or might ſo rival him in the eyes of the nation, as to enfeeble his authority, and to diſtract his government. Beſide all this, not a few perſons truly zealous for the welfare of their country, and for that alone; were ſhocked to ſee the eagerneſs with which the Engliſh and the reforming parties puſhed their meaſures beyond all regards of decency and prudence; and were,

were, even from this conſideration ſolely, induced to give the weight of their influence to that ſcale in the balance, which ſeemed to have been ſuddenly elevated even to kick the beam. The too open encouragement which Hamilton had inconſiderately given to the preachers of the reformation, had, in truth, injured their cauſe, and had contributed to exaſperate the wrath and augment the number of their enemies. About the time when the treaty with England was negociated, he entertained two preachers, of the name of Guillem and Rough, who impugned the authority of the Pope, and denied many of the moſt important doctrines of the Church of Rome; he permitted the Engliſh tranſlation of the holy ſcriptures to be commonly read; he ſuffered the breviary to be thrown aſide, and extemporary prayers to be uſed by every one at his pleaſure. All the cares of intereſt, all the regards of prejudice, all the horrors of ſuperſtition, were neceſſarily excited to reſiſt, almoſt with incredible efforts of madneſs and deſpair, meaſures which thus appeared to aim at nothing leſs than the total overthrow of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of church and ſtate *.

By the combination of all theſe various means, the ſtream of political influence and authority was

* Knox: Buchanan, &c.

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was once more turned backwards into its ancient channel. The Abbot of Paiſley ſoon perſuaded his brother Arran, who already felt himſelf confounded, and perplexed, and at a loſs how to act; that the ſteps he had taken were wrong; that the match with England muſt ſoon prove fatal to his own power, and to the high pretenſions of his family; and that whether he became the tool of Henry, provoked the reſentment of France, or forſook the banners of the Romiſh Church, he would alike bring ruin upon his own intereſt and honour. Beaton, delivered from confinement, reſumed his ſtation at the head of his party, and co-operated with the Abbot of Paiſley, to confirm the new impreſſions which had been already made upon Arran's mind. Angus and the reſt of the Douglaſes; Kirkaldy, Balneavis, the other friends to the reformation; even the miniſters of the King of England; were men unfit to contend with Beaton and with his co-adjutor Hamilton, in the artifices of intrigue. To win the Regent ſo much the more certainly to the French and Popiſh intereſts; he was reminded that the abolition of the Papal authority in Scotland, muſt deſtroy the validity of an act of divorce, by which his father had been ſeparated from a former wife, before marrying Arran's mother; and that if the validity of this divorce were deſtroyed, then Arran, born while the divorced wife of his father ſtill lived, muſt

Beaton ſubjects the Regent to the influence of his counſels.

muſt be regarded as an illegitimate child, and muſt loſe at once his rights to the regency, and his claims to the regal ſucceſſion: Lennox, the legitimacy of whoſe birth could in no event be impeached, would then ſucceed to the eſtates, honours, and hopes of Arran; and he who had been among the firſt to countenance the reformation of religion, would be the firſt to ſuffer fatally by it. Not to the Regent alone, but equally to Lennox himſelf, was this language artfully held. Lennox, a young and inexperienced man, lent to it a ready ear. Already did he fancy Arran, by the incapacitation of illegitimacy, or by the puniſhment of hereſy, to be removed from before him! And, indulging theſe fond imaginations, he ſuffered Beaton to make him for a moment, the oſtenſible head, and in reality the tool of one party, as the Earl of Arran was of the other. The alarm of Arran was ſoon complete. In order that his own legitimacy might not be queſtioned, and in order that Lennox might be diſmiſſed from the competition into which he had been exalted; the feeble-minded Regent was now ready to devote himſelf to the ſervice of the cauſe which he had ſo lately laboured to overthrow. Argyle, too, and Huntley; the one the moſt powerful baron of the weſtern, the other of the eaſtern Highlands; now ranged themſelves on the ſame ſide with Beaton. The treaty had been already ratified; but that act

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was to prove vain. Arran was even then wavering in his ſentiments. He now yielded to the influence of minds ſuperior to his own; embraced the friendſhip of Beaton; renounced the alliance of England; and devoted himſelf to the intereſts of Rome and of France. Lennox, leſs qualified than Arran to ſerve the party of Beaton and the Queen-dowager, was for him now ſlighted and rejected. Beaton thus powerful with the Regent, as he had been with his late Sovereign; furiouſly rekindled the fires of perſecution; and with an impatience which the ſucceſs of the reformation might ſeem to demand, haſtened to maintain what he eſteemed the cauſe of the God of mercy, by cruelties execrably inhumane *.

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The Earl of Lennox joins the party of the reformers.

But, if Arran were now detached from the party of England of the reformers; Lennox was by conſequence driven to take part with them. Fancying himſelf the leader of that party which he had been ſent from France to ſupport; he could not, without indignation, ſee himſelf ſo ſlightingly treated by Beaton. Having aſpired to the hand of the Queen-dowager, and having been encouraged by her apparent favour; he was ſtung to madneſs, when he found that he had been made the dupe, not more in policy than in love. He awakened, as from a dream, to the ſenſe of his own

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

own insignificancy, and could not endure to contemplate it. Immediately after the reconciliation between Beaton and Arran, the young Queen, who had been hitherto kept at Linlithgow, under the care of noblemen who stood neutral between the two parties, was conveyed to Stirling, and there solemnly crowned. The circumstances attending this coronation, were those which finally convinced Lennox that he had been deluded and outwitted. Hardly was the ceremony over, when he retired indignant from the Court, ardently associated himself with Angus and the English faction, assembled the vassals of his family in arms; drew the Douglases, the Cunninghams, the Murrays, to join his destined enterprise; and at the head of an army of about twelve thousand men, coming suddenly upon the Cardinal and the Regent, at Edinburgh; had almost disconcerted all their machinations, and brought them within his power. But, Beaton, with incomparable dexterity and artifice, pretending a willingness to grant all that Lennox could demand; entangled Lennox and Angus, who were both better fitted for war than for intrigue, in a protracted negociation, which in part detached Angus from the counsels of Lennox, and partly afforded Beaton and Arran time to strengthen themselves against whatever force or military stratagems, the insurgents might here farther employ. Lennox, baffled, disappointed,

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and in danger, haſtily retired weſtward to Glaſgow: Seizing here the Archiepiſcopal caſtle, he fortified, and prepared to hold it againſt the purſuit and aſſault of his enemies, which he might expect ſpeedily to approach. Ambaſſadors from France, arriving in the mean time in the frith of Clyde; he haſtened to Dumbarton, to receive them. A ſupply of thirty thouſand crowns, ſent to be diſtributed by him among the Scots who favoured France and Rome, were thus luckily intercepted by him, and converted to other purpoſes. Yet, all was vain. The caſtle at Glaſgow was ſurrendered to the Regent by his officers: No place of ſecurity was left him in Scotland: The French ambaſſadors were informed in what manner he had betrayed their cauſe: And he who had ſo lately come into Scotland to ſupport the intereſts of France, now abandoned by all, was obliged to ſeek refuge in England. Henry received him with open arms, honourably entertained him at his Court, and after ſome time, gave him in marriage, Lady Margaret, the daughter of his ſiſter, the mother of James the Fifth,—by her ſecond huſband the Earl of Angus *.

An invaſion from England.

The inſurrection thus defeated, had been made, not more of purpoſe to redreſs the private wrongs of the inſurgents, than to enforce the maintenance of

* Buchanan: Lindſay: Hollinſhed.

of the public faith that had been pledged to the Engliſh King. Its ill ſucceſs not only drove Lennox out of Scotland, but even diſconcerted the counſels and cooled the zeal of Angus and the other leaders of the Engliſh faction who remained behind. For a moment, Beaton and the Queen-dowager, already ſecure of Arran, ſeemed to have partly overawed, and in part conciliated all the reſt of thoſe who had been their opponents. Perhaps it was by the laviſh diſtribution of foreign gold; perhaps by giving hopes that the treaty with England might yet be fulfilled; perhaps by holding out convincing views of public utility to be found only in *their* meaſures, that the party of Beaton now appeared ſo ſucceſsfully to turn the hearts of their enemies. Henry the Eighth, irritated beyond meaſure by the diſappointment of his views, and by the ſlighting diſreſpect with which the Scottiſh adminiſtration had treated him; took now a ſudden reſolution, to force from them by warfare, that which he had failed to obtain even by a gracious and condeſcending policy, which, in ordinary caſes, he was little diſpoſed to exerciſe. Lennox's recourſe to arms had proved fruitleſs. But, the battles of Flowden and of Solway, had inſpired Henry with ſuch contempt of Scottiſh valour; that he could not but fancy it an eaſy atchievement for his arms, to reduce the Scots to the crouching ſubmiſſion of terrified

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rified ſlaves; or even to make an entire conqueſt of their country. With this contempt of Scottiſh valour, and this indignation of their receding from the treaty in which he had entangled them; Henry, early in the ſpring of the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-four, ſent againſt the Scots, a fleet of nearly two hundred veſſels, having on board an army of more than ten thouſand men, under the command of the Earl of Hartford. This mighty armament entered the frith of Forth, to the great terror of the Scots who beheld its approach. The ſhips rode at anchor over againſt Leith; and the troops had effected a landing ſome miles above that town, before the Scottiſh rulers could aſſemble any force to oppoſe them. Hartford's orders from his Sovereign were, to ſeize by force the perſon of the young Queen of the Scots, or to haraſs them with devaſtation and bloodſhed, till they ſhould voluntarily deliver her up. The propoſal was with indignation rejected. The Regent having fortified the caſtle of Edinburgh, left it under the command of Hamilton of Stenhouſe; and himſelf retired to ſhare the ſafety or the danger of the Queen at Stirling. A reinforcement advancing by land from Berwick, now joined the forces which Hartford had landed from the veſſels in the bay. It is poſſible that Lennox might have taught Henry to expect, that Angus and the reſt of the Engliſh faction would not fail, at

at the ſight of ſuch a powerful invading force, to join the invaders in arms, to cruſh the faction of their opponents, and to throw themſelves and the liberties of their country at Henry's feet. Diſappointed of whatever hopes of this ſort might have been conceived, Hartford, after waſting the ſurrounding country, for ſome inconſiderable extent, advanced to Edinburgh, forced an entrance at the gates of the town, and made an unſucceſsful attempt againſt the caſtle. Terribly annoyed by the artillery of the garriſon, and ſeeng no proſpect of ſucceſs in the ſiege; the Engliſh then ſet fire to the town, and betook themſelves to their camp and to their ſhips. After this failure before Edinburgh caſtle, it was vain to think of ſailing upwards to Stirling, in purſuit of the young Queen. They demoliſhed the pier, committed ſimilar devaſtation on the oppoſite ſide of the frith; ſeized the merchant-ſhips in the harbours; and then ſailed away, without having in any degree accompliſhed the primary purpoſe of their expedition *.

The Scots in vain purſue the Engliſh to the border.

Such a deſcent was terribly afflictive to the inhabitants of theſe coaſts: But, nothing could have been more favourable to the views of that party which was devoted to the intereſts of France. The ancient ſpirit of Scottiſh independence and patriotiſm

* Eoſdem: Hollinſhed.

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patriotiſm was rouſed in every breaſt. Party-contentions were for a time forgotten. With one conſent, the Scots aſſembled at the ſummons of the Regent; and under his command, haſtened towards their eaſtern borders, in purſuit of that part of Hartford's army which had retired by land, and of purpoſe to reſiſt whatever farther hoſtilities might on that quarter threaten them. An army of no fewer than twelve thouſand men, in which were the Earls of Angus and Bothwell, with other nobles, followed Arran as far as Coldingham, where the Engliſh had ſeized, fortified, and garriſoned, ſome buildings belonging to the Priory. Theſe were for ſome time in vain battered by the Scottiſh artillery; when, upon an alarm that an Engliſh force was approaching; the Regent, with ſeveral of the principal men in the army, and a conſiderable part of its force, retired in precipitate haſte to the caſtle of Dunbar. Hamilton perhaps dreaded leſt Angus and other Lords, who had been lately favourable to the Engliſh, ſhould here ſeize and deliver him over to his enemies. In the haſte of his retreat, he left his artillery behind. Angus, however, with his own followers, averted the diſgrace which muſt otherwiſe have been here ſuffered; and bringing off the artillery, conveyed it alſo ſafe to Dunbar *.

In

* Leſly: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes.

In ſome ſubſequent rencounters between the Scots and the Engliſh, upon the borders, the glory of the Scottiſh arms was more ſucceſsfully maintained. But, the cares of the Scottiſh rulers were called away to check the progreſs of the reformation of religion; which had indeed already gained too much ſtrength to be ſuppreſſed by their efforts. Henry wiſhed to turn the vigilance of his counſels, and the force of his arms, to a continental war. The hoſtilities between the Scots and Engliſh were ſuffered to languiſh, and to decline into merely pillaging incurſions and accidental ſkirmiſhes. When at laſt, a general peace terminated the war on the continent: the friendſhip of Francis comprehended his Scottiſh allies in the participation of the advantages of that treaty: And Henry was, for the preſent, unwillingly forced to remain fruſtrated of all his hopes to ſubject the Scots by warfare or policy, to the dominion of his Crown *.

These hoſtilities terminated by a peace.

Various diſorders had, in the mean time, ariſen among the northern clans. At all times turbulent, they were doubly ſo in a ſeaſon like the preſent, when faction enfeebled the energies of the government, and foreign war withdrew its vigilance from the cares of internal adminiſtration. Thoſe chieftains, who, with their tribes, had

Tranſactions in the Highlands.

* Knox, p. 42.: Leſlæi, lib. x. p. 455.—457.

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had been reduced to ſubmiſſion by the vigorous adminiſtration of James the Fifth, ſeemed to think, that they might again aſſert their licentious independence, ſince that dreaded Monarch was now no more. The maintenance of order, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in the weſtern and northern Highlands, were now therefore committed, by the Regent and his council, to the Earls of Argyle and Huntley. In the north, Huntley, with difficulty, exerciſed his authority, by reſtoring the Grants and Frazers to a territory from which the clan Chattan had unjuſtly expelled them. The prædatory clan-Chattan, unable to reſiſt the force with which Huntley came againſt them, haſtily retired at his approach, to their own poſſeſſions, in the middle and weſtern parts of Inverneſs-ſhire. But, they were not yet content thus to relinquiſh their prey: they were not to be baulked of their revenge. No ſooner had the Frazers taken quiet poſſeſſion of their territories contiguous to the Moray-frith, than their ancient enemies, deſcending, with the fraudful cunning of ſavages, from their interior moraſſes and mountains; came upon the aſtoniſhed Frazers, while theſe were unaware of any ſuch danger, and cut them off almoſt to a man, yet not without a brave defence, by which many of the ferocious clan-Chattan were ſlaughtered. Huntley, alarmed by the news of this diſaſtrous event,

armed

armed his clan in wrath, and called upon the aid of the other loyal clans around. Purſuing the clan-Chattan into their remoteſt faſtneſſes, he ſoon conquered all their artifices and all their open reſiſtance, made great havock of their numbers, made priſoners ſeveral of their chiefs, brought them to trial, and put them to death. Argyle had, at the ſame time, with leſs bloodſhed and warfare, compelled the weſtern and Hebudian clans to renew their profeſſions of allegiance *.

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Perſecution of the reformers.

In ſpite of whatever means were employed to thwart the ambition and overthrow the power of Beaton; he ſtill retained ſuch influence—with the Regent, with the Queen-dowager, with the parties of the Roman-Catholic clergy and of France, as rendered him in fact maſter of the government. But, the intereſts of the Church, and the views of that party which he guided, made it neceſſary for him to reſiſt the progreſs of the reformation, by meaſures of the moſt deciſive efficiency. The canons of the Church awarded death by cremation, as the puniſhment of hereſy. To give due dignity to the character of Beaton, while he ſhould enforce theſe canons; the Holy Father had appointed him his Legate to Scotland, with the higheſt powers that were ever conferred with this office. A new act of parliament was obtained, to

* Leſlæi, lib. x. p. 451-2: Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 532.

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justify and enforce the perſecution of the votaries of reformation in religion. The Cardinal made a ſolemn viſitation of his dioceſe; and at Perth particularly, condemned various perſons convicted or ſuſpected of this hereſy, to the puniſhments of hanging, drowning, baniſhment, or degradation from offices of truſt. Among the converts of reformation, the preachers were naturally the moſt obnoxious to eccleſiaſtical vengeance. Of theſe preachers, there was, at this time, none more eminent for high birth, for knowledge, for piety, for zeal, for ſkill in the arts of perſuaſion, and for almoſt unbounded popularity, than George Wishart. Wiſhart himſelf, well inſtructed in the doctrine of the reformers, travelled, preaching theſe doctrines throughout all the ſouthern diſtricts of the kingdom. He was followed, eagerly heard, careſſed, and protected by perſons of all ranks. It was, for ſome time, difficult to ſurpriſe him in his retreat, or to prevail with the nobles who favoured him, to permit that he ſhould be ſeized and puniſhed as a heretic. The talents and authority of Beaton, however, at length prevailed. Wiſhart was ſeized at midnight, at Ormiſtoun in Eaſt Lothian. After ſome ſhort delay, he was conveyed to St Andrew's; and, as ſoon as the forms of the Church would permit, was brought to trial. At his trial, the Cardinal-Legate, with the other clergy by whom he

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Trial and execution of George Wiſhart.

he was accuſed, who ſat as his judges, or who ſurrounded him as ſpectators impatient for his condemnation and death; treated him with all that arrogance, and malicious aſperity of abuſe, which it was natural for men to exhibit, who believed themſelves to perform a ſignal ſervice to God, and to the Chriſtian Church, at the ſame time, while they wreaked their own vengeance, and impreſſed upon all around, the terror of their power. Wiſhart, on the other hand, comported himſelf with firmneſs, moderation, and modeſty, which gave new luſtre to his character and his cauſe. His defection from the orthodox ſtandard of the doctrines of the Catholic Church, he ſtrove not either to excuſe or deny. But, building his defence upon the authority of the holy ſcriptures, and upon the unambiguous voice of reaſon, he ſeems to have refuted, in truth, whatever was alledged againſt him, as falſe or wicked, and to have, at leaſt in the judgement of his admirers, retaliated diſgrace upon the heads of his accuſers and judges. He was condemned to the flames. A ſtrong guard attended, to prevent the poſſibility of his being reſcued by his friends. When led forth, and bound to the ſtake, he diſplayed the ſame meek reſignation to the will of Heaven, the ſame fervent, yet unoſtentatious piety, the ſame firmneſs ſuperior to ſhrinking or complaint, the ſame cordial ſpirit of forgiveneſs

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forgiveneſs toward his perſecutors, the ſame ſteady attachment to the doctrines he had taught; which had before ſhone conſpicuous at his trial, and had indeed diſtinguiſhed the whole tenor of his life. His laſt ſufferings were contemplated by Beaton and his clergy, with a paſſionate curioſity and ſatisfaction, more keen than that with which the mob in an ancient Roman theatre, are ſaid to have viewed the combats, the mutual wounds, the dying agonies of their gladiators. To the clergy, and eſpecially to Beaton, this execution of Wiſhart, the moſt eminent among the preachers of the reformation, ſeemed a triumph which gave new ſtability to their power, and which would leave the efforts of the reformers no longer formidable. Their private revenge was likewiſe eminently gratified; For, among the moſt popular and common themes on which Wiſhart and the other preachers were wont to harangue, was, that of the immorality of the lives of the Papal clergy; and invectives of this nature were the more bitterly reſented, becauſe they could rarely be denied or refuted *.

State of ties.

While the intereſts of the Church, and of the Catholic religion, were thus defended by the ſeemingly neceſſary cruelties of perſecution; the great conteſt

* Knox, 43.—63: Buchanan, lib. xiii. p. 336.—640: Leſlæi, 458.

conteſt of intrigue between France and England, for the future government of the Scots, was by no means abandoned. After the defection of Lennox, Francis the Firſt had ſent into Scotland, Montgomery of Lorges, to watch over the intereſts of France among his inſular allies. Even that treaty of peace, by which the hoſtilities between the Scots and the Engliſh had been formally terminated, could hardly pacify the inveterate enmities of the borderers. Henry, ſtill furiouſly indignant on account of his diſappointment in regard to the Scottiſh marriage; was prevented only by the infirmities of declining age, and by the diſturbances in his Court; from renewing with mightier and more paſſionate efforts than before, the proſecution of that favourite meaſure. His party among the Scots were ſtill, as it ſhould ſeem, ſufficiently powerful to hinder the nation from entering, as yet, into a too cloſe and irrevocable alliance with France. Even Beaton appears to have artfully avoided devoting himſelf too entirely to the French intereſts. Montgomery, after no very long ſtay among the Scots, returned home in diſſatisfaction. The ſtrength of the two political parties, the French and Engliſh, ſeemed now to be almoſt equally balanced. Of the eccleſiaſtical parties, the energy of Cardinal Beaton appeared, for ſome moments, to reſtore to that

of

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of the eſtabliſhed Church, its ancient aſcendency *.

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But, Beaton's talents, his pride, his elevation of rank, and ſumptuous magnificence of living; his obnoxious condition, as the leader, and the very vital ſtrength of the Catholic party; the odium which was every day inflamed more and more againſt him, by thoſe bold and cruel meaſures which he ſaw himſelf compelled to take in ſupport of what he eſteemed the deareſt intereſts of his religion and of his country: All theſe means had, by this time, exaſperated againſt him, the hearts of his enemies, even to the moſt atrocious ferocity of malice and reſentment. The converts of the reformation, for the ſame reaſon for which they believed its doctrines to be divine truths, regarded Beaton, the great enemy of thoſe doctrines, as the enemy of God and heaven. Wiſhart they had ſeen periſh at the ſtake by an unjuſt death, although after a legal trial and condemnation: Nor could they help regarding thoſe laws as diabolical, and that government as tyranny, under which the ſainted innocence and piety of an apoſtle and martyr thus fatally periſhed. Some of Wiſhart's laſt words had been underſtood as a prophetic denunciation of puniſhment, or a cry for revenge: And both the

* Lindſay, 291. 492.: Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 534.: Leſlæi, 456.: Goodwin: Hollinſhed: &c.

the enthuſiaſm and the furious paſſions of his converts, were ready, even as tinder to catch the ſpark, whether to give efficacy to his threat, or to gratify his laſt wiſh. Civil order was as yet far from being eſtabliſhed among the Scots, in that perfection which makes the aſſaſſination of an enemy appear enormouſly criminal. The eve of a revolution, whether political or eccleſiaſtic, is, above all others, the ſeaſon when men are apt to ſcorn the reſtraints and deciſions of poſitive law, and to appeal rather to the laws and powers of nature, each for the protection of his own rights, and the redreſs of his wrongs. Cabals might poſſibly have been formed, even before the execution of Wiſhart, for the purpoſe of cutting Beaton off by violence, ſince he was ſo eminently an overmatch for whatever policy could be employed againſt him. But, it was not till after that event, that men's minds were ſo generally inflamed, as to encourage to the immediate perpetration, even of any bloody project for his ruin. In ſome tranſactions which quickly followed, he gave new offence to perſons who had not been before his determined enemies: And a daring conſpiracy for his murder was quickly concerted *.

The conſpirators, Norman Leſly maſter of Rothes, William Kirkaldy younger of Grange,

* Knox, p. 64.: Leſly, p. 297.

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Assassination of Cardinal Beaton.

John Lesly of Parkhill, uncle to Norman; with a few others; not without the privity, as was suspected, of Angus; came secretly to St Andrew's, on the evening of the twenty-eighth day of May, in the year one thousand five hundred and forty-six. Cardinal Beaton then resided in the castle of St Andrew's, which, by recent fortifications, he had rendered one of the strongest places in the kingdom. With him resided, perhaps as hostages for his security, perhaps for the purpose of education under his eye, and at the university, the eldest son of the Regent Arran, with some other young men of rank. His household was numerous. The townsmen of St Andrew's were, for the greater part, his dependents, and were favourably disposed towards him. Yet, amid these circumstances favourable to the security of Beaton, and seemingly such as might have saved him from surprise by conspiracy; did this small band resolve to accomplish their bloody purpose. On the morning subsequent to their arrival, they, at an early hour, awaited the first opening of the castle-gates; obtained admittance, unsuspected, into the castle; thrust out from the gates about an hundred workmen who were employed in its reparation, and afterwards more than sixty gentlemen, one by one; then made their way to the door of the Cardinal's own chamber. They were in all but about sixteen men who thus made themselves masters of the

the caſtle. It ſeems improbable that they could have been thus far ſucceſsful, if unaided by ſome ſecret treachery within. After ſome vain reſiſtance on the part of Beaton, and his ſervant, who was with him in the chamber; the door was opened. Beaton implored their pity; called on Norman Leſly, as leſs his enemy than the reſt; pleaded the inviolable ſanctity of his eccleſiaſtical character; but could not move the aſſaſſins from their purpoſe. Leſly of Parkhill firſt fiercely wounded him with ſeveral blows: Others ruſhed in to bathe their weapons in his blood. James Melvil, one among them, actuated more than the reſt by the enthuſiaſm of religion; reminded him of the execution of Wiſhart; declared this ſlaughter to be the judgement of God upon Beaton, as the author of Wiſhart's death; and then, with ſeveral laſt blows, ſtruck the victim to the ground, and put an end to his life and ſufferings. The inhabitants of this city were by this time alarmed, and haſtened to the caſtle. It was too late. The conſpirators expoſed the dead body of the ſlaughtered Cardinal from the walls: And the multitude retired in ſilence. The body was then depoſited in a dungeon of the caſtle for future burial. Of the young men in the caſtle, the Regent's ſon was alone detained, that he might be a hoſtage for the ſafety of the conſpirators. Aware that they had violated the laws civil and

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eccleſiaſtical; aſſured that the vengeance of Beaton's party would be ſpeedily directed againſt their heads; the conſpirators fixed themſelves in the caſtle; which they determined not to ſurrender till they ſhould obtain an amneſty*.

The character of Beaton has been miſrepreſented.

The aſſaſſins of Cardinal Beaton, have been more permanently and effectually ſucceſsful in their vengeance, than the perſecutors of Wiſhart. Wiſhart's death reflected a new luſtre on the piety and virtue of his life: and the final ſucceſs of the cauſe for which he ſuffered, has, not undeſervedly, dignified his memory with all the honours of a ſaint and a martyr. But, the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, in defence of which Beaton willingly expoſed himſelf to much of that odium which whetted againſt him the daggers of aſſaſſination; was ſoon to be overthrown from the foundations, and trampled in the duſt: and the fierce, malicious, revengeful zeal of the firſt Scottiſh Preſbyterians, was to brand all thoſe by whom the reformation had been oppoſed, as fiends the offſpring of hell, or brutes fit only to wallow in vices of the moſt loathſome turpitude. Hiſtory, in the hands *of pretended philoſophy*, knowing no principle of ſentiment or action, but the *pride of paradox;* in the hands of *clerical diſcretion*, anxious only

* Knox, p. 66. edit. 1732.; Lindſay, p. 298. edit. 3.; Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 542.

only to win every voice, by doing homage to every prejudice; in the hands of *the mere man of letters*, ambitious ſolely to raiſe for himſelf a reputation, by refuting what others have affirmed; can never redreſs thoſe wrongs by which error, enmity, and prejudice, have too often laboured to conſign contemporary worth to unmerited infamy. It is now, at laſt, high time to reſcue the character of Beaton from thoſe miſrepreſentations under which it has hitherto unjuſtly ſuffered.

His true character.

David Beaton was born in an age, when the inſtitution of univerſities in Scotland had already begun to diffuſe new light and intelligence among the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church. Educated under the care of his uncle, to whoſe honours and dignities he was afterwards to ſucceed; his mind was, hence, early impregnated with all the learning then prevalent; was inſtructed in the forms and duties of the eccleſiaſtical functions he was to adminiſter; was called to acquire vigour, activity, quick and piercing diſcernment, in the actual practice of affairs, before it could be rendered inept and torpid by a too long and uninterrupted application to recluſe and contemplative ſtudy. His initiation in political buſineſs, was in that period of turbulence and intrigue, which intervened between the fall of James the Fourth at Flowden, and the æra when James the Fifth aſſumed into his

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his own hands the reins of government. Beaton was ſent as the ambaſſador of James in his moſt important negociations with foreign Courts; and ſtill tranſacted his maſter's buſineſs with fidelity and ſucceſs. When the reformation commenced, its preachers and converts were naturally regarded, by almoſt all the learned and the great in the Romiſh Church, as a mob of hare-brained enthuſiaſts, for whoſe heretical impiety there could no excuſe be found, unleſs in their folly. The examples, however, of Germany and of England evinced, that *their* enthuſiaſm, combining itſelf with the intereſted views of Kings and Nobles, might ſhake the Catholic Church to its very foundations. In theſe circumſtances, was it vice, was it impiety in Beaton, to have oppoſed the progreſs of innovation ſo dangerous in Scotland? to have interpoſed with all the power which his talents gave him, to prevent his Sovereign from entering into a cloſe alliance with England, that threatened ruin to the Church? We may lament that the truths of the reformation failed to flaſh conviction through ſo powerful a mind. But, after a fair view of the facts, it is impoſſible to avoid acknowledging, that, although Beaton's intereſts and predominant paſſions might indeed, in this inſtance, happen to coincide with his duty; yet, he undeniably acted the part of a man of patriotiſm and virtue, when he perſecuted the reformation,

formation, and perſuaded his Sovereign to prefer the amity of France to that of England. His principles, his tenor of conduct, were the ſame when he ſtrove to prevent the regency from falling into hands in which it might be abuſed to the ruin of the Church, or the ſubjugation of the national independency. High political virtue, as well as incomparable dexterity, were certainly diſplayed in thoſe meaſures by which he won Arran from the friendſhip of England and of reformation, and once more gave triumph to the cauſe of the Catholic religion, and to the party which was devoted to the alliance of France. Had he urged perſecution with a fury exceeding what the laws authoriſed, and what the anger and the fears of the Catholic clergy appeared to demand; he might then have been juſtly accuſed of a malignant cruelty of diſpoſition. But, this he was far from doing. It cannot be doubted, that only a few of the obnoxious votaries of reformation were ſelected for trial and condemnation; in order that their fate might operate as a timely warning to the reſt. Infinitely the greater number were overlooked and ſpared. Such perſecution was indeed wicked: But, its evils originated in the errors and imperfection of the eſtabliſhed religion, in the mental blindneſs of the age in general, not in the guilt of Beaton. The confidence repoſed in him by his own party; the

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the fury with which his life was conſpired againſt, by thoſe whom he oppoſed; the execrations with which the Preſbyterian and the Engliſh party have, ever ſince, continued to load his memory; all concur to prove, that his talents and his political integrity, made him the grand ſupport of the Catholic Church in Scotland, and the moſt zealous guardian of that national independency, which had been hitherto beſt maintained, by preferring the alliance of France to the inſidious amity of England. The death of Beaton was indeed fortunate for the cauſe of reformation. That change in the Scottiſh ſyſtem of religion and policy which he oppoſed, was, in the end, to prove beneficial to his country. But, as things muſt at that time have neceſſarily appeared to every intelligent friend of religion and of civil order; the meaſures which Beaton employed in his adminiſtration, were the wiſeſt and the moſt upright that could well be contrived. On ſuch grand occaſions in human affairs, the policy of man is ever baffled by the progreſs of the ſchemes of Providence. Let us not refuſe due praiſe to thoſe, who, upon ſuch occaſions, act with as much wiſdom and virtue as the imperfection of human nature will permit. Beaton was ſumptuous and magnificent in his ſtyle of living: But, ſumptuouſneſs and magnificence might ſeem to become his dignified rank in the Catholic Church, and in the ſtate. He was not rigidly chaſte: But,

But, this ſpecies of licentiouſneſs was the crime of the age in general, and eſpecially of the Roman Catholic clergy: It had its origin in the celibacy of thoſe clergy: It was regarded as venial, and was ſcarcely deemed incompatible with the character of ſainted virtue. We cannot palliate or excuſe the vice: But we muſt impute the blame not ſo much to Beaton, as to the manners and opinions faſhionable in that age. Taking him, then, *for all in all*, Beaton was undeniably a man of eminent talents, of illuſtrious public virtue, as free from vices as almoſt any man in the age and in the ſtation and circumſtances in which Beaton lived. It was rather his virtue than his vice, which drew upon him the odium of the reformers, and occaſioned at laſt his aſſaſſination. If his heart was not altogether untouched by the pride of rank, of talents, of wealth, of power; who is there that in his ſituation, and with his powers, would have felt differently?

The news of Beaton's ſlaughter was quickly noiſed through the kingdom. By many of the favourers of the reformation in religion, and of the Engliſh intereſts, it was heard with gladneſs and triumphant exultation: by others of this party, the aſſaſſination was faintly condemned, as illegal and impious in the perpetrators, although not undeſerved by the proud and guilty

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prieſt who had fallen: others lamented it as impolitic, likely to invigorate the energy of thoſe who had been thus criminally deprived of their leader, and to give the colour of reaſon and juſtice to their future perſecutions and complaints. But, on the other hand, the Romiſh clergy; all among the laity, who were, as yet, the faithful votaries of the eſtabliſhed Church; all the partizans of France, whoſe intereſts were inſeparably interwoven with thoſe of the clergy; heard of the ſacrilegious murder of a Prince of the Church, with unutterable emotions of horror, indignation, and almoſt deſpondent alarm for the intereſts of that religion of which Beaton had been the vigilant guardian. To meet and repulſe an invaſion, about this time, dreaded from England, or to retaliate injuries recently ſuffered on the weſtern borders, Arran, the Regent, had aſſembled the military vaſſals of the Crown in arms. They were proceeding through the ſhire of Peebles, towards the weſtern marches, when tidings of the ſlaughter of Beaton were received among them. Earl Rothes, the father of Norman Leſly, was among the nobles in this army. With one voice it was demanded, that he ſhould be brought to trial on account of his ſon's crime, ere he were permitted farther to accompany the other nobles, whoſe honour was untainted, upon their deſtined expedition. A Juſticiary Court was immediately conſtituted;

First ſentiments concerning Beaton's murder.

conſtituted: A jury of nobles inveſtigated ſuch evidence as could be produced to ſhew that the Earl had been conſcious of Norman Leſly's baſe deſign: By their verdict, he was honourably acquitted. The expedition ſoon terminated in the capture of Langhope-caſtle. And the Regent, with the attending nobles, then returned in haſte to Edinburgh, to diſpoſe of the late Cardinal-Legate's benefices, and to avenge his murder,—or ſome, perhaps, to protect the murderers *.

Meaſures of the government, and of the garriſon in the caſtle.

Messengers were, without delay, diſpatched, to announce in France the fatal event, by which the party of France and of the eſtabliſhed religion, had been robbed of its beſt ſupport in Scotland; and to ſolicit ſuccours, as well againſt the triumphant aſſaſſins, as againſt the Engliſh who might be expected to aid them. In the diſtribution of Beaton's benefices, the Archbiſhoprick of St Andrew's, was beſtowed on Hamilton Abbot of Paiſley, and natural brother to the Regent; while George Douglas, natural ſon to the Earl of Angus, was *poſtulated* to the abbey of Arbroath. Among the Scottiſh nobility, there was none who dared to propoſe an amneſty to the aſſaſſins in the caſtle of St Andrew's. The Queen-dowager and the clergy inſiſted, that meaſures the moſt rigorous

* Lindſay, 299.: Leſly, lib. x. p. 459.: Buchanan, lib. xv p. 543.

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and coercive ſhould be employed againſt them. Even thoſe nobles who were regarded as friendly to the reformation and to England, ſeem to have been won by new favours, and by the hopes of a new aſcendency in the government, to enter zealouſly into the meaſures of that revenge, which prepared to execute public juſtice againſt Norman Leſly and his accomplices. Upon the refuſal of theſe men to ſurrender the caſtle of St Andrew's, the Regent and his Council determined to beſiege it. The ſiege was commenced. But, wanting ſuitable battering machines, as well as engineers ſkilful to conduct the operations of ſieges, Arran and his followers long ſaw all their efforts baffled and derided by thoſe who held the caſtle *.

Negociations.

In the mean time, the beſieged had ſolicited and obtained aid from England. To grant this aid, and a promiſe of ſending an invading army, which ſhould draw away the Regent from the ſiege; were among the laſt acts of Henry the Eighth, relative to Scotland; for that Monarch ſoon after died. Young Hamilton, the eldeſt ſon of the Regent, was ſtill detained by the conſpirators in the caſtle, as a pledge for their own ſafety. Leaſt, in the mean time, the Regent might happen to die, and thus leave the heir to his eſtate and

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 459.: Lindſay, 299.; Buchanan, xv. p. 544. &c. Knox, *ubi ſupra*.

and to the Regency, in the hands of rebels; his captive ſon was, by a ſolemn parliamentary act, declared to be incapable of ſucceeding, while in captivity, either to the Earldom of Arran, the Regency, or the Scottiſh Crown. Some attempts at conciliatory negociation were alſo made between the beſiegers and the beſieged. But, whether both parties were alike inſincere in the negociation, or whether thoſe in the caſtle did not indeed think that they could with ſafety ſurrender it, upon the only terms which dignity and reſentment would permit the beſiegers to offer; the attempts at treaty proved fruitleſs. The beſieged truſted to new ſuccours to arrive by ſea and land from England. The beſiegers expected gallies, ſoldiers, artillery, and engineers, to come as quickly as poſſible from France *.

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The auxiliary forces, and other ſupplies from France, in due time arrived under the command of Strozzi, a diſtinguiſhed Italian officer then in the French ſervice. But, amid thoſe intrigues which filled the Engliſh Court, about the time of the death of Henry the Eighth, and of the firſt ſettlement of the government of his infant ſucceſſor; the brave Scots, beſieged in the caſtle of St Andrew's, were, for a ſeaſon, forgotten or neglected;

* Knox, p. 66.: Lindſry, 298. 299.; Leſly, lib. x. p. 459 460.

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ed; left without new ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions; relieved by no diverſion of an Engliſh army on the borders, which might have called the beſiegers away to oppoſe invaſion. All communication between the town of St Andrew's and the caſtle, was now cut off. By the direction of Strozzi, the beſiegers mounted their guns upon the ſteeple of St Salvator's college, and upon the walls of the Abbey church; and formed a battery, conſiſting of two Scottiſh, with ſix French cannons, in a ſituation where its diſcharges could be effectually levelled againſt the caſtle-walls. Within a few hours, the inceſſant diſcharge of the artillery thus diſpoſed, made ſuch breaches in the walls, that the beſiegers could no longer hope for ſafety in continued reſiſtance. They ſurrendered to Strozzi, on condition that their lives ſhould be ſpared. The ſpoils of the caſtle, which was ſtill richly furniſhed with various wealth, became the reward of the French ſoldiers. The captives of war taken in the caſtle, were carried away into France; and, among them, the famous John Knox, who had firſt begun to exerciſe the miniſterial functions ſoon after the death of Cardinal Beaton. In France, ſome were condemned to the gallies, others met a milder fate. Thus carried in captivity from their native country, condemned to circumſtances of miſery, and regarded with horror and deteſtation, as wretches polluted with the guilt

The caſtle taken.

Auguſt 1547.

guilt of murder and ſacrilege; few of the unfortunate men, by whoſe crime Beaton had fallen, were ever after able to regain the good opinion of mankind, or to riſe again to circumſtances of proſperity. The ſuperſtition of the age, credulouſly or malignantly, imputed their misfortunes to the judgement of Heaven, viſibly ſtretching forth its hand to puniſh guilt ſo atrocious. Norman Leſly, perhaps the moſt gallant and generous among them all, entered as a ſoldier into the French ſervice, and, after performing many heroic exploits, at laſt prematurely fell in fight, admired and lamented by all his fellow-ſoldiers. The caſtle was, in obedience to the canons of the Church, razed to the ground. This triumph over conſpiracy and rebellion, and this ſeaſonable ſervice rendered to the Scots by the French; ſeemed to confirm the ſtability of the Catholic eſtabliſhment of religion, and greatly to increaſe the favour in which the French had been before with the Scottiſh nation *.

Edward *the* Sixth, a youth as yet under tuition, now ſat on the Engliſh throne. The *Duke of Somerſet* †, his maternal uncle, was Protector of the kingdom and of the King's perſon. The arrangements of the new government had been, by this time, fixed; and Somerſet

* Lindſay, p. 300.: Knox, 76. 77.: Leſly, p. 459.: Melville's Memoirs, p. 33.

† Lately Earl of Hertford.

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Somerset and his Council now turned their attention to Scottish affairs; with a determination, still, if possible, to obtain that marriage between their own young King and the infant Queen of the Scots, which had been the favourite measure of Henry, ever since the death of the late King of Scotland. But, the castle of St Andrew's no longer remained to be delivered from siege. The French had now the ascendency in Scotland. Those who administered the Scottish government, were at open war with England. Somerset, in the present temper of the two nations, knew no more conciliatory plans of policy, than those which had been employed by his late master. He levied an army of eighteen thousand men, cavalry and infantry; equipped a fleet of sixty sail of ships; and, with this potent force, came to compel the Scots to accept such terms of national friendship, and nuptial alliance with young Edward, as he should chuse to prescribe. While the English army entered Scotland at Berwick, and advanced without meeting opposition, nearly as far as Musselburgh; the fleet attending its progress, sailed into the bay of Forth, and approached the very mouth of the frith. Somerset hoping, that the terror of the invasion, even without farther hostilities, might alone be sufficient to bring the Scots to accept his proposals; addressed a letter to the Scottish Regent, in which

Invasion of Scotland by the English.

was

was expreſſed, a willingneſs, on the part of the Engliſh, to conclude a treaty of peace, and retire home; if the Scots would only agree, not to ſend their young Queen to France, but to educate her among themſelves, till ſhe ſhould have attained maturity of years, to become the bride of Edward. Even theſe conditions, favourable as they may ſeem to have been to the Scots, in the relative circumſtances in which the Scots and Engliſh at that moment ſtood; yet, could not be accepted by either the party of the clergy, or the friends of France. Arran, held ſteady to theſe intereſts, by his brother, by the Queen-dowager, and by other counſellors; concealed from the people the purport of this meſſage from the Engliſh Protector; and perſuaded them, that Somerſet's purpoſe was to carry their young Queen by force away. It was reſolved to muſter the whole ſtrengh of the nation, and repulſe the invaders. All the military vaſſals of the Crown were haſtily ſummoned to aſſemble in arms. To the remoteſt Highlands and iſles, the alarm and the call were quickly communicated. Among the clans, a *flaming brand* rapidly tranſmitted from hand to hand, and from hamlet to hamlet, quickly excited thoſe brave warriors to ſeize their weapons of warfare, and to ruſh with impetuous haſte from their mountains, for the defence of their infant Queen. Arran was ſoon able to muſter an hoſt of forty thouſand men in

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arms, under the ſubordinate command of almoſt all the principal nobility of the kingdom. It was the cauſe as well of religion, as of the national independence, for which they were to fight; and the eccleſiaſtics, in great numbers, therefore, mingled with the lay-ſoldiers, in the battle-array *.

The Engliſh were encamped on Carbury-hill, not far from Muſſelburgh. The Scottiſh army marched out to Edmonſtone-Edge, near Inverek. Angus, one of the braveſt among the Scottiſh nobles, was at the head of ten thouſand men who formed the van-guard: a much more numerous hoſt, commanded by the Regent in perſon, compoſed the main army: The Earl of Huntley, with ten thouſand more, led up the rear. Already had the Engliſh almoſt entirely conſumed whatever proviſions, either the open country behind them, or the ſtores conveyed by their fleet, could ſupply. Somerſet ſaw himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of conquering or making a peace, in order to ſave his army from deſtruction. But a very little leſs of headlong impatience in the Scots, would have inſured them triumph, without loſs or bloodſhed. They choſe a ſtrong poſition for their camp; and for ſome very ſhort ſpace of time, watchfully

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 562.: Lindſay, p. 301.: Goodwin, p. 215.: Knox, p. 78.: Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 546. 547.: Hume, p. 271.

fully awaited the movements of the Engliſh hoſt. The Engliſh ſent out a detachment to provoke their opponents to combat, and to draw them from that cautious plan of operations which they ſeemed to have adopted. A band of the Scottiſh troops were detached to meet the Engliſh ſquadron; and a ſkirmiſhing combat enſued, in which equal numbers periſhed on both ſides, and from which neither party came off victorious. This conteſt ſerved to inflame the fury of the Scots, beyond the poſſibility of longer delay from engaging in a general battle. Angus, with ſome reluctance, yielding to the re-iterated orders of the Regent, and to the wiſhes of his troops; at laſt led down the Scottiſh vanguard from the ſcene of their encampment, to aſſail the Engliſh in *their* camp; from which the Scots now feared, only, leſt they ſhould retire by ſtealth, and make their eſcape. In the harbour at the mouth of the Eſk, lay the Engliſh fleet at anchor: And the Scots, in order to attack the Protector's camp, were neceſſarily to paſs along the bridge over the river; and for ſome length of way, in a line in which the artillery of the Engliſh ſhips might be brought to bear upon them. Lord Clinton, who commanded in the fleet, overlooked not the occaſion. By the diſcharge of the cannons from the Engliſh gallies, the troops in the middle and rear diviſions of the Scottiſh army were greatly annoyed

Battle of Pinkey.

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noyed on their march; loſing not a few of their number, and among theſe, the maſter of Graham, and the brave Gordon of Lochinvar. Angus, in the mean time, with his ſpearmen, having eſcaped this danger, advanced in cloſe order up the hill of Invereſk, towards the fields of Drummore and Walliford, where the Engliſh were preparing to meet them. Lord Grey, with the Engliſh cavalry, armed with ſhort lances, advanced to meet their firſt ſhock, and, if poſſible, to break through their ranks, and ſcatter them in diſorders. But, the Scots withſtood, unmoved, the aſſault of Grey and his troops. Two hundred Engliſh ſoldiers fell. The reſt were with difficulty perſuaded to make a ſecond attempt upon the flank of the Scottiſh phalanx. Aware of their intentions, the Scots, without deſerting their ranks, made a declining movement, in order that they might ſtill preſent their front to the aſſailants. By the forces advancing to ſupport them, under the command of Arran and Argyle, this movement of the Scottiſh vanguard was haſtily miſtaken for the retroceſſion of flight. Fancying that their fellows in arms before them were fleeing; the middle column of the Scots thus turned and fled. At ſight of this, Angus's troops, already almoſt victorious, maſters of not a few Engliſh ſtandards, and having ſeen Lord Grey, with ſome of his moſt gallant officers, fall mortally wounded on the earth; were nevertheleſs

leſs alarmed, confounded, made for ſome moments incapable of preſſing with the ſame earneſtneſs as before, upon the foe. Somerſet, that inſtant, marking the flight of the Scots behind, and the beginning confuſion of their ſpearmen in front; came on with his main army: and his bowmen, by the diſcharge of their arrows, his fuſileers with their muſkets, his artillery from an advantageous poſition on the ſide of the hill, quickly made the diſorder of the forces under Angus complete, and drove them into general flight. The terror and diſperſion in which the Scots thus fled, made it impoſſible for their leaders to rally them for a retreat by which the enemy's purſuit might, at leaſt in part, have been checked. Now began the moſt dreadful carnage of the day. The Engliſh followed hard after the fugitives, and ſlaughtered them without reſiſtance; ſometimes refuſing quarter to thoſe who begged it, ſometimes ſlaying in cold blood, thoſe to whom quarter had been granted. Not fewer than ten thouſand Scots were ſlain in this fatal battle of *Pinkey*, or of *Invereſk*. Many were made priſoners. The Engliſh army on the following day, advanced their camp to the immediate vicinity of Leith *.

In

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 462.—464.: Lindſay, p. 302.—305.: Buchanan. p. 547. 548.: Knox, p. 78. 79.: Goodwin, p. 216. 217.: Hume, p. 272. 273.: Statiſtical Account, vol. xvi. p. 6. 7.: Patten's Journal.

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In the conſternation of this defeat, the Scots fled wherever chance and terror directed their ſteps. The Earl of Angus eſcaped, on the night after the battle, to Calder. Many took refuge in the caſtle of Dalkeith. The Queen-dowager, with D'Oyſel the French ambaſſador, having awaited in Edinburgh the iſſue of the engagement, were no ſooner apprized of the route of the Scots, than they fled in haſte to Stirling. Arran, with the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, ſoon followed to the ſame place. By the perſuaſion of the Queen-mother, the French ambaſſador, and ſome nobles of the French party, the young Queen, deemed even in Stirling-caſtle inſecure, was ſent with her mother, and with the Lords Livingſton and Erſkine, to a royal caſtle on an iſlet in Lochlomond, which was ſuppoſed inacceſſible to the Engliſh. Exertions were then made to levy new forces. The Regent ſaw himſelf compelled to yield in almoſt all things to the wiſhes of the Queen-mother and the partizans of France. More irritated than ſubdued in their ſpirits by what they had thus ſuffered from Engliſh invaſion; the Scots eagerly reſolved to throw themſelves into the arms of France, and to ſend an embaſſy demanding aid from the French King, upon ſuch conditions on their part, as ſhould eaſily induce him to prefer the open defence of Scotland, to continued peace with the Engliſh. It was thus, that a victory

Flight and conſternation of the Scots.

tory won by the forces of England; which, improved by skilful policy, might have made Scotland and its young Queen their own; instead of having this effect; contributed more powerfully than any other cause, to frustrate all the purposes with which the English had renewed the war *.

In the mean time, the English, and Somerset their leader; neglecting to seize the critical moment after the route of the Scots, when the renewal of those offers which they had made before the battle, might have made the vanquished wholly theirs; were likewise restrained, by other circumstances, from prosecuting their victory, by a pursuit into the interior parts of the Scottish kingdom. They wanted provisions, military stores, and troops: the cares of his private interests, and of the internal government, urgently demanded Somerset's presence at home. Leith, therefore, they found it necessary to evacuate: Upon Edinburgh they had ventured to make no attempt. But, while their land-army, little annoyed by the skirmishing pursuit of the Scots, returned home by the way of Berwick; their fleet was left to hover on the coast, block up the harbours, and intercept any vessels sailing to or from France. As the army retired, they took, fortified, and strongly garrisoned

Retreat of the English.

* Lesly, lib. x. 464. 465.: Buchanan, lib. xv. 548.: Lindsay, 305.: Knox, 79. &c.

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garriſoned Haddington. Faſtcaſtle, and the caſtle of Hume, were likewiſe taken and garriſoned. At the towns of Lawder and Roxburgh they built forts. All Berwickſhire and Eaſt-Lothian thus remained at their mercy. On the iſlands of Inch-Keith and Inch-Colm, in the Frith of Forth, fortifications were alſo formed, and Engliſh garriſons placed. Works of great ſtrength were in the ſame manner formed at Brughtay; ſo as to ſubject the paſſage into that frith entirely to the controul of the Engliſh. Theſe were all the advantages gained by Somerſet's expedition. Had he been to deal with the Scots alone, without foreign reſources, and without allies; it is not impoſſible that even theſe advantages againſt them might have, in the end, reduced the Scots to accept ſuch terms of peace as he ſhould have choſen to dictate *.

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But, the hopes of making the young Scottiſh Queen their captive, or winning her for a bride to their young Monarch, were ſoon to be for ever loſt to the Engliſh. Amid the fears of the nation, the diſgrace reflected by ill ſucceſs on the Regent's counſels, and the increaſing influence of the Queen-mother; the tuition and the marriage of the young Scottiſh Queen had been already offered to France. They were eagerly accepted. A fleet was ſpeedily equipped by the command of Henry the Second, who

* Goodwin, 217.: Lindſay, 305.: Knox, 75.

who had ſome time before ſucceeded his father, Francis the Firſt, on the French throne: and was deſtined to convey to Scotland an army of auxiliary French forces, ſufficiently powerful to repulſe the invaſions of the Engliſh; and again to convey from Scotland to France, the Scottiſh Princeſs, under protection ſo ſtrong, that it might not be poſſible for the Engliſh to make her their captive. In the ſpring of the year one thouſand five hundred and forty-eight, landed at Leith, an auxiliary French force, of five thouſand infantry, and a thouſand horſemen, under the command of M. D'Eſſè. Every effort of policy was employed to impoſe ſilence on whatever ſcruples might ſtill hold any of the Scottiſh nobles reluctant to confide ſo precious a hoſtage as their young Queen, to the cuſtody of their foreign allies, in a diſtant Court. Perſuaſion, artful pretence, the laviſh diſtribution of money, the diligent uſe of all the weights and ſprings of influence, the general indignation againſt England, the want of talents in Arran the Regent, the advantage which his brother of St Andrew's found in purſuing meaſures ſuch as could alone promiſe to enſure the ſafety of the eſtabliſhed religion; united every voice in favour of the French alliance. The preſence of the French fleet and army ſerved farther to overawe any murmurs which the party of the reformers might ſtill have been diſpoſed to excite:

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Queen Mary ſent to France.

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excite. At last, young Mary sailed from the frith of Clyde, under the protection of the Lords Erskine and Livingston, and with a company of noble matrons and damsels, who were pleased to compose the Court of their Queen, and to share with her the dangers of the voyage. The voyage was safe and prosperous. The French fleet conveyed their illustrious passengers in safety to the harbour of Brest, whence Mary and her attendants were immediately conducted to the French Court at St Germains. A suitable household-establishment was without delay assigned for Mary. Her education was to employ the cares of her guardians and attendants, till she should attain a fit age for the consummation of the marriage, in which she was now destined to be united with the Dauphin of France, the son of Henry the Second *.

Continued hostilities between the Scots, the French, and the English.

In the mean time, however, the war between the Scots and the English was still prosecuted by various mutual hostilities. From the different fortresses which the English still retained on the Scottish coasts, their garrisons made continual excursions, and laid waste the territories circumjacent. Arran laid siege to the English fortress of Brughtay; but was soon obliged to relinquish his enterprise in disgrace. On the side of the western marches,

* Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 551; Lesly, lib. x. p. 470.; Lindsay, p. 306.

marches, the Earl of Lennox, with an Engliſh force, made a ſudden inroad into Dumfries-ſhire and Galloway; and in ſpite of whatever Maxwell, Johnſton, and Murray of Cockpool, could do to oppoſe him, carried devaſtation, carnage, and terror, far and wide through thoſe diſtricts.

Proſecution of the war with England.

No ſooner had the French forces landed, than they prepared to evince to their Scottiſh allies, what important advantages were to be derived from their aid. From Leith and Edinburgh, they ſpeedily marched to beſiege the Engliſh in Haddington. Haddington, the principal ſtrong place which the Engliſh poſſeſſed in Scotland, was long gallantly defended againſt all the efforts of the beſieging French and Scots. Aſſault, ſtratagem, blockade, were repeatedly tried by the beſiegers, but tried in vain. With the Engliſh garriſon, there were in the town, ſome Italian engineers at this time in the Engliſh ſervice, whoſe ſkill contributed not leſs uſefully to the defence of the town, than did that of the French engineers to the proſecution of the ſiege. Reinforcements, with ſupplies of proviſions and military ſtores, were repeatedly ſent from England, and, in ſpite of the vigilance and force of the beſiegers, ſucceſsfully introduced into the town. The French, unwilling to diſappoint thoſe hopes which their allies had conceived of the advantages to be derived from their aid; the Scots reſolute to expel

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the hated Engliſh beyond their ancient boundaries; obſtinately prolonged the ſiege, in ſpite of every diſcouragement; ſtill returned to it in new force and with augmented rage; and expected, by one means or another, to accompliſh at length their purpoſe. They might have perhaps long perſiſted in their efforts, without ſucceſs, if a peſtilential diſtemper had not ſwept away the garriſon in ſuch numbers, as finally diſcouraged the Engliſh from replacing it or ſtruggling longer to keep poſſeſſion of the town. They ſet its buildings on fire, and abandoned it amid the conflagration to the Scots. During the lengthened ſiege of the town, the warfare did not languiſh in other parts. A naval force ſent by Somerſet, to reinforce the garriſons which blocked up the friths of the Forth and the Tay; were defeated, with conſiderable loſs, in a deſcent they made upon the coaſts of Fife. The caſtles of Hume and Faſtcaſtle, were, by ſtratagem, wreſted from the hands of the Engliſh. On the northern coaſt, in the vicinity of Montroſe, the attempts of the Engliſh from their fleet, were fruſtrated and repulſed in the ſame manner as in Fife. But, the garriſon of Brughtay were, nevertheleſs, reinforced; and were thus enabled to make themſelves maſters of the contiguous town of Dundee; which they conſumed with fire, when they found that they could not ſafely, nor conveniently retain it in their poſ-

ſeſſion,

ſeſſion. Jedburgh was at length recovered by D'Eſſè, out of the hands of the Engliſh: and the Scots, with their allies, began to retaliate, by incurſions into England, all the evils they had ſuffered from Engliſh invaſion. At laſt, even Inch-Keith, and Brughtay-caſtle, were retaken from the Engliſh. But, while the fortreſs at Lauder, the laſt ſtrong-hold which theſe invaders retained in Scotland, was vigorouſly beſieged; news was received of the concluſion of a peace between England and France, in which the Scots, as allies of France, were alſo included. The Engliſh by this treaty conſented to retire from the territories of the Scots. Lauder-caſtle was, in conſequence, amicably delivered up to the Scots, at a time indeed, when, but for the peace, the garriſon muſt, perforce, have ſurrendered it upon harder conditions. The peace was proclaimed at Edinburgh, in the month of April, in the year one thouſand five hundred and fifty *.

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But, although thus far ſucceſsful by the aid of their French allies, the Scots did not always patiently endure the preſence of theſe ſtrangers in their country. The languages, the national manners, the dreſſes, the humours of the French and the Scots, being different, had an unavoidable

* Buchanan, p. 550.—555.: Lindſay, 305.—509.: Leſly, p. 470.—483.: Goodwin, &c.

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able tendency to prevent the mutual intercourſe of their alliance, when they were thus cloſely aſſociated together, from being carried on with perpetual, uninterrupted harmony. Not leſs robuſt or brave than the French, the Scots were, however, leſs ſkilful in the art of war; becauſe the modern tactics connected with the uſe of fire-arms, had been, at this time, much more cultivated upon the continent than in Britain. From this conſideration aroſe a pride in the minds of the French warriors, a jealouſy in the hearts of the Scots, which produced continual variance between them, when ſerving in the ſame army, and living in the ſame country. Beſides, however the party of the reformers might be, at this period, humbled, however odious the Engliſh might be, to a great part of the Scottiſh nation; yet the reformers, and the ſecret partizans of England, retained ſtill ſufficient influence to foment the unavoidable diſcontents and diſagreements betweeen the Scots and their allies. A fray ariſing, on a particular occaſion, in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, between a few riotous Frenchmen and ſome citizens of the town, increaſed, till Hamilton of Stenhouſe, provoſt of the city, and captain likewiſe of the caſtle, interpoſed his authority, and threatened to ſend the Frenchmen to priſon. Ere he could carry his threats into execution, their comrades haſtened in great numbers

Diſſenſions between the French and the Scots.

numbers to protect them. The citizens of the town took arms in support of their provost. A bloody rencounter ensued, in which the provost, with his son, and several other respectable citizens, were slain. This incident provoked the minds of the Scots in general, to a high degree of indignation, against the French. All the prudence of the French commanders, and of those leaders in the Scottish councils who were devoted to France, became henceforth necessary to prevent the Scots from becoming even more hostile to their allies than to their English enemies *.

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Nor was the government of the kingdom, in general, conducted, during this period of war and turbulence, with that wisdom and impartial justice, which might have confirmed and sanctified the Regent's authority. Acts of violence were committed among the nobles, which Arran either wanted power to restrain and punish, or was won by bribes and by dishoneſt motives of interest, to overlook. The Queen-dowager and the French party, were willing to make Arran the tool of their pupoſes; yet laboured diligently to weaken his influence, and to blast his reputation, that he might never again set himself at the head of a party in opposition to them. His brother,

Weak government of Arran.

* Lindsay, p. 308.; Buchanan, lib. xv. p. 553.: Lesly, lib. x. p. 474.

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ther, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, content to guard the intereſts of the eſtabliſhed Church, ſaw it neceſſary to reſign to the Queen-mother and her partizans, the chief influence in the affairs of the ſtate. The party of the reformers, whom Arran had formerly betrayed and abandoned, ſtill hated and deſpiſed him. His reputation and authority ſank every day lower. Things were haſtening into that condition in regard to him, in which it would be impoſſible for him to avoid a degradation, which the Queen-mother, and the agents of France, were already preparing for him *.

Mary of Lorraine viſits France.

But, the war was now at an end. It was the alliance of France which appeared to have ſaved the Scots from the humiliation of ſeeing their religion overturned, and their country made a ſubject province of England. Gratitude for theſe important ſervices naturally maintained a majority of the patriotic Scots, ſtill faithful to the intereſts of the French. Weak and unpopular, Arran was not likely, either to throw himſelf again into the arms of the friends of the reformation, or to form around him an independent party, who ſhould ſupport his authority and his pretenſions, equally againſt the ambitious views of the Engliſh, and the enſnaring, ſubjugating amity of France. Beſides, Mary of Lorraine, the Queen-mother, had,

* Lelæi, lib. x. p. 486. 487.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 532.

had, for ſome time, acted with a conciliatory gentleneſs toward the friends of the reformation, which had made them conceive hopes of her converſion, and which rendered her as little diſagreeable to them, as any perſon could well be, that was not actually one of themſelves. In this ſtate of the kingdom, and of the parties aſpiring to direct its government, Mary, in the autumn immediately ſubſequent to the concluſion of the peace, went on a voyage to France, in order to viſit her daughter, and to concert with the French Court, ſome new meaſures for the future government of Scotland. She ſailed in the fleet which conveyed away the laſt of the auxiliary troops, whoſe preſence had enabled the Scots to ſupport the war againſt England. The Earls of Huntley, Caſſillis, Marſhall, Sutherland, and not a few others from among the moſt eminent of the Scottiſh nobility, gladly accompanied her. She was received with the moſt pleaſing kindneſs and reſpect, at the French Court, by her daughter, now riſing faſt above the years of childhood, by her brothers, the moſt illuſtrious among the Princes at the French Court, by the Monarch himſelf, Henry the Second of France, who was pleaſed with the proſpect of a new kingdom to be added to his dominions, by the marriage of his ſon with the lovely heireſs of the Scottiſh Crown. Her Scottiſh attendants found a welcome equally kind and gra-

The Queen-dowager viſits the French Court.

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cious. To them, all in the Court of Henry, put on for a time, an appearance, as if they had been admitted into the ſeat of unmixed love and joy, into the preſence of ſome beneficent divinities *.

Sheafpires to the regency.

In this temper mutually of the French Court, and of its noble Scottiſh gueſts, towards one another; it was concerted to raiſe Mary of Lorraine to the regency of Scotland. Arran, the next heir to the Scottiſh Crown, enjoyed advantages in his preſent ſtation, which might render him hereafter a too powerful opponent to the views of France. The regency of her daughter's dominions ſeemed to be the moſt naturally proper ſituation for the Queen-dowager of Scotland: Allied as ſhe was to the family of Guiſe, and about to be allied to the royal family of France, Mary might be expected to adminiſter the Scottiſh government in a more perfect ſubſerviency to the French intereſts, than any other vicegerent would: Her elevation to this dignity would gradually prepare the Scots to ſubmit to the government of French rulers and counſellors alone: Arran, unfit for the adminiſtration of ſovereign power, deſpiſed by the Scottiſh nation in general, abhorred by the friends to religious reformation, not truſted by the votaries of the eſtabliſhed Church; would be unable to maintain

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 484. 485.: Lindſay, 309.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 556. 257.

tain himſelf Regent, in oppoſition to the wiſhes of the young Queen and the Court of France: Even Arran might probably be won to conſent to his own degradation: acceptable as Mary of Lorraine had already made herſelf to the Scots in general, might ſhe not, if duly aided by the money and influence of France, eaſily gain their unanimous conſent to ſubmit to her government *?

Negociations with Arran.

Upon ſuch conſiderations, and with theſe views, thoſe nobles, by whom Mary had been attended into France, were firſt perſuaded to agree to her wiſhes. At the French Court were, fortunately, at the ſame time, ſeveral friends to the Scottiſh Regent, and agents for him, to whom the ambitious hopes of the mother of their Queen, and the wiſhes of the French Sovereign and his miniſters, were ſoon, with perſuaſive inſinuation communicated. Panter, Biſhop of Roſs, who had for ſome time reſided as ambaſſador from the Scottiſh Regent at the French Court; Carnegie of Kinnaird, who had been more recently ſent hither an extraordinary ambaſſador for a particular purpoſe; with Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, who was at this time likewiſe in Paris; were thoſe perſons through whom Mary endeavoured to prevail with Arran to reſign to her the regency of Scotland. Having been

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. ſub initio: Melville's Memoirs, p. 28.

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gained to favour Mary's wiſhes, they were diſpatched with magnificent propoſals from the French King to Arran: The Dukedom of Chatelherault to himſelf and his family, as a hereditary fief; to his eldeſt ſon, the command of all the Scottiſh forces in the French ſervice; a large penſion to be paid from the Crown of France; a formal recognition, by the Scottiſh parliament, of the rights of his family to the regal ſucceſſion, next after the daughter of James the Fifth and her heirs; a ſolemn parliamentary approbation and ratification of all the acts of his adminiſtration in the regency; theſe were the principal conditions offered from the French Court in behalf of Mary of Lorraine, to induce the Earl of Arran to reſign into her hands, the reins of the vicegerent government of Scotland. Even theſe offers, however, appeared to Arran but a poor compenſation for the loſs of that power of which he was required to diveſt himſelf. He heſitated, and delayed, and ſought counſel from his friends, for the purpoſe rather of delay than of inſtruction. But, his brother lay ſick of a diſeaſe which threatened to prove mortal: He was himſelf neither loved nor honoured by the nation: Since ſo many of the moſt eminent among the other nobles were already gained to approve of the exaltation of the Queen-dowager; it ſeemed vain for him to ſtruggle againſt the power of France and the

wiſhes

wiſhes of his country; If fruſtrated in their attempt to win, it was probable that the friends of France would henceforth ſtrive only to ruin—him. Rather compelled by fear, than won by the allurements held out to his avarice and ambition, Arran at laſt ſignified to the Biſhop of Roſs, his readineſs to relinquiſh the regency upon the conditions offered. The news was ſpeedily made known at the French Court. The nobles who had attended Mary thither, were gratified with new honours and emoluments, ſuch as ſatisfied all their wiſhes. The deſtined Queen-regent ſoon after took leave of the French Court, and returned with a princely train through England into Scotland, to take poſſeſſion of her new dignity and power *.

Mary returns to Scotland.

Her return was much more grateful to the nation in general, than to the Regent. To the diſciples of the reformed religion ſhe had been already humane: to the Catholic religion ſhe was faithful: wealth, honours, influence in the ſtate, were to be hoped by the Scottiſh nobles, through no other channels, than from her recommendation to her daughter and to the French King. The proſpect of her approaching exaltation to the regency, now publicly known, was joyfully received by all. Even the Engliſh, ſtill at peace with

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 486. 487. 488.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 558.

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with France, and being conciliated by the kindneſs and courteſy of her manners, when ſhe lately paſſed through England; would excite no commotions or intrigues in oppoſition to her advancement.

Arran diveſts himſelf of the regency.

But Arran had agreed with extreme reluctance to reſign his vicegerent authority, even for all thoſe emoluments, and that impunity which were, in compenſation, ſtipulated to him. The regency gratified at once his avarice and his ambition, in a thouſand ways, from which, by its reſignation, he would be for ever ſhut out. He was, after Mary Stuart, the next heir to the Scottiſh throne. There were many probabilities, that the life of a young and delicate female, ſuch as ſhe at this time was, might be cut off, before ſhe ſhould have offſpring to inherit her rights and poſſeſſions. How infinitely eaſier, and more ſafely, might Arran, upon the event of Mary's death, in ſuch circumſtances, aſcend from the vicarial to the ſupreme dominion over Scotland,—than if the adminiſtration of the government ſhould have already paſſed into other hands, and he ſhould have been previouſly reduced to the weak and humble condition of a private man? His brother, the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, now recovered from a ſevere illneſs, under which he had lately laboured, was paſſionately adverſe to a meaſure ſo unſafe and ſo derogatory from Arran's honour, as the reſignation of the regency, which he was now required to make,

make. The faction of England and of the reformers began, perhaps, to inſtil new doubts and fears into Arran's ear. Conſcious guilt, and natural imbecillity, made him alſo ſuſpicious of the good faith of the Queen-dowager, her friends, and the French Court. Could he, by any means, have retained his power in ſecurity, he would not have ſcrupled now to diſappoint the hopes which he had excited, and to recede from all his engagements. But, the period had already arrived, at which the young Queen would, by the laws of her country, acquire the right of chuſing new guardians and miniſters for herſelf; and when Arran's authority as Regent, muſt, of conſequence, neceſſarily ceaſe. The agents of Mary, while they promiſed impunity, and all the ſtipulated honours and emoluments to his ready fulfilment of his engagement; threatened to his refractory receſſion from it, ſuch a judicial inveſtigation of the demerits of his adminiſtration, as ſhould not fail to cover him with diſgrace, and to overwhelm him in ruin. The voice of the nation was likewiſe adverſe to all the ambitious wiſhes of a Regent, whoſe adminiſtration had been, to all parties, odious and contemptible. He reſigned an authority which he found it impoſſible to retain. Mary of Lorraine aſſumed the regency, with the approbation of a majority of all parties in the kingdom. The French court began now to regard Scotland as wholly theirs. A new order of great events

was

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was about to open upon this narrow theatre of warfare and policy *.

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It is curious and intereſting to remark, in the hiſtory of the fortunes of human nature; that men never ſooner obtain the full completion of their wiſhes, than the tide of their proſperity begins to recede; thoſe very events from which they expected permanent and unmixed grandeur and felicity, proving the ſource to them of miſery and diſgrace; And that this happens, not by any myſterious arrangement of the relations of things, but by a natural neceſſity, the links and ties of which we can often eaſily and clearly trace. While Mary of Lorraine poſſeſſed no official part in the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh government; ſhe had gradually won every heart from Arran; and had gained an authority of love, eſteem, and influence, far more powerful than that which he derived from the rights and prerogatives of the regency. But ſcarcely had ſhe accepted Arran's reſignation in her favour, and begun to exerciſe the offices of Queen-regent, when the attachment of her friends began to wax colder, and the numbers and the zeal of the partizans of France to diminiſh. Should ſhe leave the principal miniſterial offices of the government in the hands of the Scottiſh nobility; the authority of her

First meaſures of the new regency.

* Lindſay, p. 310.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 559.: Leſlæi, lib. x. p. 482.

her regency would be ſtill but nominal; nor would the power of France be eſtabliſhed among the Scots, with that ſtability and effective force, which had been expected from her advancement. It is probable, that the whole ſyſtem of government ſhe was to purſue, and that diſtribution of its offices which ſhe was to make, had been ſome time before concerted with the French Court, and with thoſe of the Scottiſh nobles, whom honours, preſents, penſions, and careſſes, had won to devote themſelves to its intereſts. Immediately after her acceſſion to the regency, therefore, ſhe nominated Villemore, Rubay, and Bonot, three Frenchmen of her Court, to be reſpectively, maſter of accompts, keeper of the ſeals, and ſheriff or governor of the Orkney Iſles: Appointing, at the ſame time, to other important offices, ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the nobles and clergy who were native Scotſmen. This meaſure, however neceſſary, inſtantly excited violent murmurs among thoſe whoſe hopes had been diſappointed, and thoſe who were intereſted to ſeize every opportunity of depreciating the new government. Such murmurs, and the diſcontents which they expreſſed, could not indeed ſhake an authority ſo well ſupported, as that of the Queen-regent at this time was. But, they ſerved, like the firſt breaking out of waters over a mound, as the beginning to fatal diſſenſions, convulſions, and

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revolutionary tumults, which were ſpeedily to enſue *.

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Progreſs of the reformation.

It was from the party of thoſe who favoured a reformation in religion, that the firſt ſucceſsful oppoſition to the Queen-regent's meaſures, was to ariſe. During the progreſs of that train of artifices and negociations, by which the views of France, in regard to Scotland, had been carried thus far into proſperous effect; a forbearance had been obſerved towards the miſſionaries and the diſciples of the reformation, by which its propagation had been greatly favoured, by which it had been ſuffered to fix itſelf in new ſtability, and to grow up to more vigorous ſtrength. The ſtate of religion in England, during the reign of Edward the Sixth, who was unfortunately ſnatched away by death, in early youth, from the love and admiration of his ſubjects, contributed not a little to aid the progreſs of the reformation among the Scots. Edward's tutors and miniſters, amid their own projects of private ambition, boldly completed that reform of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment of England, which Henry the Eighth had but capriciouſly and imperfectly begun. The books, the preachers of the reformed religion, eaſily paſſed out of England into Scotland. It was in part,

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 482.: Buchanan, p. 562.: Lindſay, p. 310, &c.

part, therefore, to prevent the party of the reformation, in Scotland, from throwing themſelves again into the arms of England, that Mary of Lorraine had for ſome time diſcouraged the perſecution of hereſy among the Scots. Even in France, the neceſſary oppoſition to the houſe of Auſtria, had for a while engaged the French government to feign ignorance of that rapidity with which the opinions of the reformers were diſſeminated, and even to ſhew, at times, an equivocal diſpoſition to favour the reformation. All theſe circumſtances and events had promoted its ſucceſs among the Scots; and the reformers were conſequently now a much more powerful party, than when their extermination was threatened by Cardinal Beaton.

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Marriage of the young Queen to the Dauphin of France.

In the mean time, Mary Stuart, the young Scottiſh Queen, grew up to that age at which ſhe was nubile. No maiden in the French Court rivalled her in beauty. She had acquired all thoſe accompliſhments, which the ordinary plan for female education in that age, could beſtow. The vivacity, and the quick apprehenſion of her opening mind, were ſuch as to heighten all the charms of her beauty, and to give full effect to all the pains employed in her education. Young Francis, the Dauphin, eldeſt ſon to Henry

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the Second of France, was already impatient to receive his deſtined bride. Her uncles of the houſe of Guiſe, were not leſs deſirous to ſee a marriage accompliſhed, from which they expected to derive new influence in their Sovereign's councils. Montmorency, the rival of the Guiſes in Henry's favour, ſuggeſted objections to the match, and would gladly have conſigned the niece of his adverſaries to the arms of a meaner ſpouſe. But, the charms of Mary Stuart, the influence of her uncles, the vaſt hopes and deſigns which Henry was by them taught to connect with the idea of the union of the Scottiſh crown to that of France; prevailed over the oppoſition of Montmorency: and it was finally determined in the French Monarch's Council, to make the Dauphin the huſband of the young Queen of the Scots. The Scottiſh Parliament conſenting, in the name of the nation, and at the earneſt perſuaſion of the Queen-mother and the partizans of France, to this marriage of their Queen; ſent commiſſioners to the French Court formally to notify their aſſent, to procure the agreement of Mary and her bridegroom to certain conditions which were deemed neceſſary to guard the national liberties, and to witneſs the celebration of the nuptials. Aware of the danger of diſagreeing or contending with the high-minded nobility of Scotland, at this critical moment, the French King and his Counc

Council readily aſſented, in the name of the Dauphin and his bride, to whatever conditions were inſiſted upon by the Scottiſh commiſſioners; even to conditions, which, if faithfully obſerved, would render the acquiſition of the inheritance of Mary, very little gainful to the French Monarch. Secret deeds were, however, procured at the ſame time from the young Scottiſh Queen, which, if they could be at any future period enforced, in oppoſition to ſolemn and public treaties and conceſſions, would reduce Scotland to be one of the moſt completely ſubject fiefs of the French Crown. The marriage was then celebrated. Within a ſhort time after its celebration, an embaſſy was ſent to demand of the Scottiſh Parliament, to recognize the Dauphin as poſſeſſing, in conſequence of his marriage, all that legal authority over the kingdom of his ſpouſe, which, by the practice and maxims of the feudal law, the huſband uſually poſſeſſed throughout Europe, over the eſtates of his wife. Their demands were with ſome heſitation granted. Francis and Mary were now King and Queen of Scotland. Scotland was thus a dependency of the French Crown. It was now to be governed, if poſſible, by the will of the French Monarch and his Council: and all the deſigns which the Guiſes had built upon the accompliſhment of this marriage for

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their niece, were to be gradually carried into effect *.

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Administration of the Queen-regent.

While the train of measures connected with this marriage, thus proceeded; Mary of Lorraine exerted all her care and talents in the administration of the Scottish government, at home. Huntley, lately the favourite agent of those measures of policy, by which she had discredited Arran's administration; shewing himself refractory to some of her commands, and being, by his power in the north-east, qualified to thwart and weaken her authority; was, on the pretence of his misconduct in a Justiciary-commission against some of the clans in his neighbourhood, brought to trial, condemned, divested of all his offices, and commanded to go for a limited time in exile, to France, but afterwards pardoned. Finding her French ministers, and the principal measures which they proposed, to be insufferably odious to the nation; the Queen-regent prudently procured them to resign their offices, yet still retained them about her person, and secretly listened to their counsels. With wonderful vigilance, dexterity, and prudence, she still applied herself to divide those parties which began to combine against her government, to conciliate popularity by manners artfully gentle and insinuating, to brand with discrediting

* Lindsay, p. 310.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 567.: Lesly, p. 492.—494.

diſcrediting ignominy the vices, and to gain by artifices upon the weakneſſes—of thoſe who were the moſt earneſtly diſpoſed to make oppoſition to her views. Few perſons but a woman of Mary's accompliſhments and addreſs, would have been able to carry into effect, that train of difficult meaſures, which ſhe had it in charge to execute for the French Court, and for the intereſts of her own family, among the fierce, turbulent, and diſcordant Scots. To the votaries of the reformation, while theſe became every day more numerous, and more openly ardent in the cauſe they had eſpouſed, ſhe continued to afford her protection; and even permitted them to conceive hopes that ſhe herſelf might perhaps at length become their convert. Arran, and his brother Archbiſhop Hamilton, now attempted indeed to ſet themſelves in oppoſition to her government, and watched with a ſuſpicious vigilance, to prevent the rights of the family of Arran from being injured by the circumſtances attending the marriage of their young Queen with the heir of the Crown of France. But, the Queen-regent's popularity was not to be materially impaired, nor her authority ſhaken by the feeble and mean character of Arran himſelf, nor even by the more powerful talents and influence of his brother the Archbiſhop. If ſhe were now leſs popular than before ſhe had obtained the regency, this appeared to have happened, chiefly becauſe

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because the part she had to act was peculiarly difficult,—because they who have obtained power and grandeur, never retain all the popular favour with which they were regarded when they were only candidates for these,—because the progress of events was awakening a spirit among the people with which she could not continue to comply, and which was to be far too powerful for any policy, however skilful, to extinguish or restrain it *.

New policy of the French in respect to Scotland.

Such was the address with which Mary conducted herself in the management of parties, and in carrying into effect the great plans of policy which had been concerted with her foreign friends, for the government of Scotland.—In the administration of justice, in maintaining with due propriety the splendour and dignity of her Court, and in her intercourse, whether hostile or friendly with the English, she appears to have acted for the most part with equal prudence. But, the French Court believed themselves to be now so much masters of Scotland, that the artifices of moderation, forbearance, compliance, were little necessary: And Mary was to be their agent in executing those bolder and more vigorous measures which they had resolved to adopt. The ends of all these measures were, to thrust out the house of

* Buchanan, lib. xvi : Lesłæi, lib. x. p. 483. &c.

of Hamilton from all their rights to the contingent inheritance of the Crown, to deſtroy the very elements of reformation in religion, to reduce the turbulent nobility of Scotland to a ſtate of ſervile ſubjection to the deſpotiſm of France, to make uſe of the Scots for invading England, and for annoying the Engliſh with warfare whenever this might be uſeful to the intereſts, not of the Scots themſelves, but of their foreign Sovereign and of the French.

Mary, the ſiſter of Edward who had been cut off in early youth, the daughter of Henry the Eighth, by Catharine of Arragon whom he had divorced; now ſat on the Engliſh throne. She had undone that reformation which had been capriciouſly begun by her father, and nearly perfected during the ſhort reign of her brother. The Roman Catholic religion was, by her zeal, once more triumphant in England. It was natural for her to cultivate the amity of the illuſtrious repreſentatives of that houſe from which her injured mother was deſcended. She ſought the alliance of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, her couſin, accepted in marriage the hand of his ſon and heir, Philip the Second, and endeavoured, as much as poſſible, to make the Engliſh nation eſpouſe all the friendſhips and enmities of the huſband whom ſhe fondly loved. With reluctance and refractorily,

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they yielded to her wiſhes, and renewed the war with France, becauſe the war was renewed between France and Spain. To deprive Philip of the aid of thoſe auxiliaries which England might ſupply to augment his armies on the continent, the French Court now directed the Queen-regent of Scotland, and thoſe French counſellors whom they kept about her, to engage the Scots to renew at this juncture their ancient hoſtilities againſt England. Infractions of various ſorts had already violated the former peace between the Scots and the Engliſh, yet had not brought on any general warfare. The will of France cut off the hopes of reconciliation. D'Oyſel, and Mary who liſtened with implicit reſpect to his counſels, endeavoured at firſt to engage the Scottiſh Parliament, by open and formal motion and perſuaſion, to declare war againſt the Engliſh, in revenge for incurſions which were alledged to have been made on the Scottiſh borders, and in concert with the military operations of France on the continent. But, the Scottiſh nobles would not now depart from that policy which they had obſerved ever ſince the fatal defeat at Flowden; and which the more recent event of the battle of Pinkie, had, with renewed force, impreſſed upon their minds. They were ready to defend their own confines againſt Engliſh invaſion: they firmly refuſed to invade the

Fruitleſs attempts to engage the Scots in an offenſive war againſt the Engliſh.

the Engliſh territories. Diſappointed in this meaſure, yet obliged to make a diverſion with the Scottiſh arms in favour of France; the Queen-mother and her French Council had next recourſe to ſtratagem, for the purpoſe of unavoidably engaging the Scots in that warfare from which they ſhewed themſelves to be ſo exceedingly averſe. Fortifying Eyemouth for the protection of the eaſtern borders, they placed in it a garriſon, conſiſting chiefly of foreign mercenary troops, and plentifully furniſhed with all the requiſite arms, artillery, ammunition, and other military ſtores. Between this garriſon and the Engliſh in the town and caſtle of Berwick, frequent rencounters, of courſe, took place. The French, obedient to the orders they had received, induſtriouſly exerted themſelves to make the Scots and the Engliſh mutually inflict unpardonable injuries. At laſt, it had been almoſt reſolved to paſs the Tweed, and beſiege Werk-caſtle. D'Oyſel, without awaiting the determination of the Scottiſh nobles, upon a point in regard to which, above all others, he had found them to be jealous and difficult; conveyed his artillery to the vicinity of the Engliſh caſtle; and was about to commence the ſiege, ere the Scots were aware of this unwiſhed-for forwardneſs in his operations. At this moment, the Queen-regent and her French miniſter might flatter themſelves, that it would

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no longer be poſſible for the Scottiſh nobility to avoid engaging even in offenſive war againſt England. Their hopes, their machinations, were, however, quickly fruſtrated. The Scottiſh nobles, with great indignation, reprobated the conduct of D'Oyſel, refuſed to ſecond him in the projected ſiege, and forced him, in ſhame and anger, to bring back his artillery, without having once diſcharged it againſt Werk-caſtle. A ſeries of petty mutual hoſtilities between the Scots and the Engliſh on the borders, followed. But, there was no battle fought, of great name, or of important conſequences. On the next year, indeed, an Engliſh fleet paſſing into the Northern Seas, ravaged the Orkney iſles, and burnt the town of Kirkwall; yet was at laſt obliged to return homewards, without accompliſhing any thing of permanent effect, but not without ſuffering ſeverely by ſtorms, in a ſcene of navigation uncommonly perilous, and to the Engliſh little known. Of theſe tranſactions, ſome part were previous to the actual accompliſhment of the marriage between the young Queen of the Scots, and the Dauphin of France. But, for as much as they originated with the French, and the French party in Scotland; they all made a part of that new ſyſtem of policy, which the French were induced to adopt in regard to Scotland; from conſidering it as being reduced fully within

within their power, by means of that train of measures which were in this marriage finally consummated *.

But, this marriage, by which the Scots saw the French exalted, in some sort, from their allies to be their lords; these measures of irritation, by which the partizans of France endeavoured to urge the Scots into an offensive war, from which their prudence or their fears made them averse; instead of giving fulfilment to the hopes and the views of the Guises; were destined to favour the accomplishment of the reformation of religion in Scotland, and at length to effect that union of the Scots with the English, which the most sagacious and artful human policy intended them to prevent. Hamilton, Huntley, and most of the other eminent Scottish nobility, were now excited to watch with a jealousy and vigilance ever ready to break out into opposition, all the measures of the Queen-regent's administration, and all the movements of the devoted partizans of France. All those who were patriotically or selfishly zealous for their own liberties and for those of their country, although not otherwise disposed to encourage religious innovation, yet were induced to make advances to the party of the reformers, in order to obtain their aid against the threatened usurpations.

The Scots averse from France, & zealous for a reformation of religion.

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 564—568.: Lesly, lib. x. p. 490. 491. &c.

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tions. The ſeaſonable death of Mary Queen of England, extinguiſhed thoſe fires of perſecution which her blind zeal had kindled, and by exalting her ſiſter Elizabeth to her throne, again overthrew the reign of Popery. While Proteſtant Epiſcopacy was thus completely reſtored in England; the Scottiſh reformers were, by this event, no leſs than by the general odium which their fellow-countrymen had conceived againſt France, emboldened—to throw off the diſguiſe; openly to honour, and liſten to—their preachers; and artfully combining the cauſe of liberty with that of religion, to conceive the firm purpoſe of rejecting the yoke of Popery, and of reſtraining the uſurpations of France. The fate of the reformation in England, encouraged them to hope, that it might yet, in ſpite of all oppoſition, prove equally ſucceſsful in Scotland. England would henceforth afford a ready place of refuge to thoſe whoſe ſafety might in Scotland be threatened by perſecution. By the late ambiguous conduct of the Queen-regent, the Catholic party in Scotland were divided among themſelves; the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's ſtedfaſtly adhering to the intereſts of the Papal Church, and ſometimes, although with leſs zeal than Beaton, raiſing the arm of perſecution; while Mary's conduct had been at times ſo little unfriendly to the reformation, that it was thought not impoſſible to win her to become

come its convert. At the invitation of ſome of the Scottiſh nobles, John Knox, eminent for his zeal, his knowledge, and his popular eloquence, ever ſince the æra of Beaton's murder; returned ſecretly into his native country, out of that exile in which he had for a while remained abroad; and renewed his preachings with the moſt pleaſing ſucceſs. Confeſſions of the reformed faith were made and avowed by ſome of the moſt eminent among the nobles. An application to gain the Queen-regent to the open ſupport of the reformation was unſucceſsful, yet did not diſcourage its diſciples. With patriotiſm, and zeal for religious truth, the hopes of avarice to be gratified by the confiſcation of eccleſiaſtical property, and the views of ambition ſtudious to raiſe itſelf on the ladder of religion to ſupreme power in the ſtate, ſoon aroſe to combine themſelves. The Earls of Argyle and Glencairn, James Stuart Prior of St Andrew's and natural ſon to the late King, Sir James Sandilands of Calder, Erſkine of Dun, with other men of rank, wealth, and influence, openly avowed themſelves the votaries and protectors of the reformation. The cruelties of Archbiſhop Hamilton were execrated; his artifices were ſlighted and diſconcerted. Political intereſts were forgotten amidſt the care for religion. Religious zeal ſeemed for a time to abſorb every other paſſion. The nation was now divided into

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the two parties of the friends to the reformation, and the ſtedfaſt profeſſors of the ancient national faith *.

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The French Court claim to Mary Stuart the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh Throne.

In the mean time, the death of Queen Mary of England without offspring, the acceſſion of Elizabeth the daughter of a marriage contracted in defiance of the Papal authority, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion in England, led the French Court to conceive loftier hopes than they had at firſt enteratined, of the advantages to be derived to their Crown, and to their political greatneſs in Europe, from the marriage between the young Scottiſh Queen and the Dauphin. By all the faithful votaries of the church of Rome, whether in England, in Scotland, or on the continent, Elizabeth was accounted a baſtard, having no juſt right to inherit from Henry her father. The inheritance of his kingdom was, upon this principle, to devolve upon the next lawful heir to Henry the Eighth, the grand-daughter of his ſiſter Margaret, young Mary Stuart, now Dauphineſs of France. This was not merely a vulgar claim, a pretence to be only talked of, a topic ſolely of alarm and galling reproach to the Engliſh Queen. No: the Papiſts in England were as yet a very numerous body: Rome and all its emiſſaries were ſtill indefatigably buſy to re-

3 ſtore

* Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 569. 570.: Knox, Book i. p. 90.—111.

ſtore the ancient religion in England: From the example of ſo many revolutions in the Engliſh government, from the facility with which the nation had returned to the religion of Mary Tudor as ſoon as they ſaw her ſeated on the throne, from the earneſtneſs with which they had preferred her juſt rights to the intereſts of their new religion; it was ſtill naturally to be expected, even with ſtrong confidence; that Elizabeth would not long be permitted to enjoy the ſovereignty of England. Not with idle vanity, therefore, but to avow and proclaim a right, which, thus proclaimed, would almoſt give effect to itſelf; the counſellors of the French Monarch perſuaded him to direct his ſon and daughter-in-law to aſſume the title of King and Queen, as well of the Engliſh dominions, as of Scotland. Elizabeth and her miniſters ſaw the danger ariſe. They knew that the wiſhes of her ſubjects muſt now be neceſſarily divided againſt her. A thouſand ſtorms would be conjured up on every ſide. Here was a ſource of enmity between France and England, between Scotland and England, deeper and more inexhauſtible than almoſt any from which former hoſtilities had ſprung. Its exiſtence depended upon Elizabeth's peculiar and perſonal condition. It reduced her to the neceſſity of contending, not for glory, but in ſome meaſure for life itſelf; not for the extenſion of empire, but for the very right to reign. It iden-

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tified all Elizabeth's deareſt perſonal intereſts with the intereſts of the Proteſtant religion. Nor were the French Court to be reaſonably blamed for the meaſures they now took in oppoſition to this Queen. They believed Mary Stuart's rights to be juſt: They believed the intereſts of true religion to be at ſtake: They ſaw both the one and the other to be fortunately connected with the aggrandizement of the French monarchy, and with the exaltation of the houſe of Guiſe. This oppoſition between the pretenſions of Mary Stuart, and Elizabeth Tudor, was deſtined to have a remarkable influence on the whole progreſs of religious and civil affairs in Britain, during the future lives of theſe two rivals. It was to place Mary at the head of the Papal, Elizabeth at the head of the Proteſtant intereſts. It was to exert a mighty influence on the progreſs of the reformation of religion in Scotland, and on the ſtruggles of the Scots to maintain their liberties unſubjugated by either England or France *.

Amidst this progreſs of the affairs of Scotland, and of the neighbouring kingdoms the moſt naturally connected with it; the Queen-mother found herſelf ſurrounded with difficulties, which were in their nature ſingularly perplexing. She had treated the reformers with a lenity that made her

* Camdeni Annales: Henault Abregé Chron. &c.

her ſuſpected by Archbiſhop Hamilton. But it was now neceſſary equally—for her to adopt Hamilton's views in regard to the ſupport of the eſtabliſhed religion; and for Hamilton, ſince he could not materially promote his brother's intereſts by thwarting her, not to ſacrifice the intereſts of the Church, in ſpite to France, and to the Queen-regent. In this temper of mind, in regard to religion, it was reſolved inſtantly to reſiſt the innovations of the reformation, again to let looſe upon its votaries, the blood-hounds of perſecution, and if even civil war ſhould be neceſſary to ſubdue them, not to refuſe drawing the ſword of war in a conteſt at once ſo politic and ſo pious *.

Progreſs of the reformation, and of the meaſures employed to ſuppreſs it.

The moſt zealous and eminent among the preachers of the reformation were ſelected to be the firſt victims of that rigour of perſecution which Mary had been perſuaded to adopt. Having attempted to correct ſome abuſes which were the moſt flagrant in the morals of the clergy and the cuſtoms of the Church; the eccleſiaſtical leaders ſeem to have perſuaded themſelves, that they had by this acquired a right to perſecute the new hereſy without ſcruple. Miſtruſtful of the Scottiſh clergy, and of the firmneſs of the Queen-regent; the Guiſes ſent from France ſome diſtinguiſhed eccle-

* Leſly, lib. x. p. 504.: Melville, p. 48.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 573.

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fiaſtics, for the purpoſe of confounding the preachers of the reformation in diſpute, and of inſiſting that they ſhould be committed without mercy to the flames. The bold remonſtrances, and even the more humble petitions of the reformers, were now treated by the Queen with neglect and ſcorn. In France, too, a ſimilar ſyſtem of perſecution was reſolved upon: and young Arran, the commander of the Scottiſh guards, a convert to Proteſtantiſm, or at leaſt a favourer of it, was about to be dragged forth, as the firſt illuſtrious victim. Aware, ere it was too late, of his danger, he made his eſcape from France, while the blow was meditated: And the Guiſes and the French King were thus diſappointed of a ſtroke, by which they might have at once exhibited a ſignal example of zeal for religion, and might have cut off the heir of a man, likely, perhaps, to rival the poſterity of Francis and Mary as a candidate for the Scottiſh throne. Upon young Arran's return into Scotland, his father, ſeeing that he might no longer ſecurely truſt the ſafety of his family to any pretended kindneſs of the French; perceiving the reformers increaſe to a body, which it might be advantageous and honourable for him to head; and no longer influenced by thoſe counſels which had before attached him to the cauſe of Popery; once more declared for the reformers, liſtened to their

their preachers, and augmented by his name the credit of their party *.

In the mean time the reformers, associating themselves by new and closer ties, into a body which received the name of the Congregation, increased continually in numbers, and were rapidly inflamed with a more intense ardour of zeal. Mary, by the advice of her ghostly counsellors, attempted rather to circumvent them by artifice and deceit, than to attack them by open violence. Some instances of promises violated on her part, inflamed the party of the reformers beyond the tameness of longer submission and forbearance. In the month of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifty-nine, they, for the first time, assembled together at Perth, in arms; and resolved to protect themselves against the laws and the authority of the government, in the exercise of that religious worship which was founded upon their new belief. Knox, newly arrived from Geneva, where he had studied at the feet of Calvin, and had preached as his fellow-labourer, was among the foremost to shew himself at this meeting. In him were united the unpolished fierceness of character which still marked the present unrefined state of Scottish manners, that firm ardour which is kindled in the human mind by the recent perception

Transactions of the Congregation at Perth.

* Eosdem quos supra.

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ception of important truths not yet generally known or received, and that exalted enthuſiaſm ſuperior to fear or mean intereſts, which the concerns of eternity have, above all others, power to inſpire. He addreſſed the Congregation from the pulpit with a force of eloquence which irreſiſtibly fired the ſouls of all his hearers. His harangue did not dwell upon the expoſition of abſtract truths; nor was it tricked out with florid ornaments. He ſpoke of the religious rights of even the meaneſt among the people, of the voice of the holy ſcriptures as alone deſerving to be heard with implicit faith and reverence, of the falſe pretences and impoſture of the Romiſh clergy, of the wealth which they undeſervedly engroſſed, of the bloated luxury in which they wallowed, of the odious crimes with which their hands were continually polluted. He ſpoke in the bitter language of contempt, of abhorrence, of malignantly grinning ridicule. He then told his hearers of the prize to be acquired by thoſe toils, thoſe ſufferings, that daring by which alone the votaries of the reformation could hope to hold faſt the faith of which they had made profeſſion, and to win others to follow their illuſtrious example. The effect of his addreſs moved their minds, even as ſome mighty force might ſuddenly impel any piece of matter with a ſhock tremendous and irreſiſtible. A prieſt having ſoon after dared to ſhew himſelf in the ſame pulpit

pulpit from which Knox had thus harangued his willing diſciples; was beheld by the ſurrounding populace with fierce indignation, as if he, not Knox, had been the intruder. Ruthven the provoſt of Perth, with a great number of the burgeſſes, were already converts to the doctrines of the reformation. The ſtrangers now aſſembled with Knox in the town, had come chiefly from the neighbouring counties of Angus and Kincardine, and were very numerous. No attempts, therefore, were made to reſtrain the licence of the mob. The clergy of the different religious houſes belonging to the town and its vicinity, either kept fearfully at a diſtance from the ſcene, or found themſelves too weak to enforce due reverence for the moſt ſacred ſolemnities of their religion. While the prieſt was proceeding in the celebration of theſe ſolemnities; a boy ſtanding near, interrupted him with inſolent language. He ſtruck the youth, in zealous indignation, with his hand. The mob, awaiting no other ſignal, inſtantly took up ſtones to throw at the prieſt, drove him in extreme danger from the ſervice, deſtroyed the ſhrines and images of ſaints, reliques, veſtments, and all the conſecrated ornaments of the Church. Nor was the miſchief ſtayed here. The convents were the next objects of their fury. That of the *Carthuſian* monks was exceedingly rich, and

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and the Prior had called in to its defence, a number of the tenants on the lands which the convent poſſeſſed in Athole. But the impetuous onſet of this reformation-mob bore down all oppoſition. The gates were broken down; images, reliques, and all the implements of ſuperſtition were furiouſly deſtroyed. The granaries, cellars, and ſtore-rooms, were then laid open; and the rabble were permitted to load themſelves with the ſpoils of this rich monaſtic houſe. The perſons of rank and piety, by whom, whether of deſign or accidentally, this commotion had been excited, did not indeed ſhare this plunder. But, under the pretence of beſtowing it for the uſe of the poor, they ſuffered all the indigent and the worthleſs to carry it off; and thus preſented to ſuch perſons, a powerful allurement to invite them to crowd from all quarters to the banners of the reformation. The ſame devaſtation was extended to the monaſtery of the Black Friars, and to the monaſtic eſtabliſhment at Tullilum. Its effect ſeems to have been favourable to the cauſe of the reformation, by its impreſſion upon the minds of the ſordid, the profligate, and the needy. If cathedrals were to be demoliſhed, if convents were to be rifled, if the lands of the Church were to be hereafter alienated to its deſtroyers; ah! who would not inſtantly ſtand forth in the cauſe of a reformation which would have

have ſo much to beſtow for the gratification of its votaries *.

Of this aſſembly of the diſciples of the reformation, and of the daring acts of ſedition, to which zeal and licentiouſneſs had ſuddenly hurried them; the Queen-regent was quickly informed at Stirling, where ſhe then held her Court. Moved at once by zeal for her own worſhip, of which all the rites and holy things had been ſacrilegiouſly violated; and by juſt indignation againſt the authors of a breach of the public peace, ſo flagrantly contemptuous; Mary inſtantly determined to reduce the rebels to ſubmiſſion, and to chaſtiſe their offence by force of arms. Even Hamilton, now commonly diſtinguiſhed by the French title of Duke of Chattelherault, James Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, and ſome other eminent nobles who were known to favour the reformation, could not refuſe to ſupport, in this inſtance, the authority of the Queen and of the laws, againſt their friends of the Congregation. Although Mary, obeying a falſe and immoral policy, had threatened to call the preachers of the reformers to trial, in diſregard of a promiſe of abſolute impunity which ſhe had before given them; yet the redreſs of this grievance was not to be legally

* Lindſay, p. 316.: Knox, p. 127. 128.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 574.: Leſlæi, lib. x. p. 506.

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fought by the profanation of churches, or by the pillaging and the demolition of monaſteries. Aided, then, by all thoſe of the Scottiſh nobles who were ſtill attached to the ancient religion, or who venerated the laws more than the progreſs of the reformation; and having at her command a body of French forces under M. D'Oyſel; ſhe quickly muſtered a conſiderable force, and without delay, advanced from Stirling as far as Auchterarder, on the way to Perth *.

But, in the mean time, the reformers, aware of their danger, neglected no means of which they could avail themſelves, to prepare for their defence. The Earl of Glencairn, at their ſummons, haſtened from the weſt to their aid, with a company of at leaſt eight hundred men. Out of Strathern, Fife, Angus, and Mearns, came alſo conſiderable numbers, ready to fight for the cauſe of God and of their brethren. Although unavoidably hurried by the circumſtances in which they were to profeſs and propagate their reformed religion, into ſome acts of outrage and ſedition; yet they were, in the whole, actuated by the love of piety, virtue, and truth: and the ſublimity of their principles and motives, gave double firmneſs to their reſolutions, and double energy to their exertions. While the Queen's army at Auchterarder, awaited

* Eoſdem ut ſupra: Leſly, p. 317.

awaited the arrival of the requisite artillery from Edinburgh and Stirling; the Congregation had already mustered an irregular force of about five thousand men, imperfectly armed, but inflamed with the most ardent courage. Of these, two thousand were disposed to defend the walls of the town; probably because they could not be suitably arrayed to march out to battle. The other three thousand followed the Earl of Glencairn to the *South Inch*, there to bid defiance to the *idolaters* and *foreign mercenaries*, who advanced against them at the Queen's command. In their resolute determination to conquer or perish, in what they deemed the cause of God; they are said to have bound each a cord about his neck, when they prepared to sally forth. With those cords it was their desperate wish to be strangled,—by the hands of their fellows, if they should turn their backs in the expected combat,—by their enemies, if they should basely suffer themselves to be made prisoners. Seeing the votaries of the reformation, thus strong in numbers, and firm in their resolution, the Queen-regent and her counsellors were induced to assume a tone of less haughtiness and irritation, than they had hitherto discovered in some mutual negotiations towards concession and reconcilement, which had been, almost since the first moments of indignation and offence, carried

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on between the Court and the Congregation in Perth. The cooler-minded among the leaders in the reformation, were, as yet, reluctant to push the conteſt into actual rebellion and civil war. Around the Queen, were ſome nobles ſecretly friendly to the Congregation; as being hopeful, if it ſhould not be ſuddenly diſperſed and annihilated, yet to exalt themſelves to become its leaders. An agreement was therefore at length effected. The Queen-regent could not, indeed, without feeling all the bitterneſs of grief and rage, conſent to ſuffer the ſanctity of religion, and the majeſty of the throne, to be diſhonoured by the pardon which was demanded, to what ſhe accounted ſacrilegious rebellion: The Congregation could ſcarcely truſt that plighted faith which ſhe had before, without ſcruple, violated. But, both were forced to ſubmit to the expediency of the moment. It was agreed, that the gates of Perth ſhould be ſubmiſſively opened to the Queen; but that no Frenchman ſhould attend her into the town; that none of the townſmen ſhould be moleſted or brought to trial for what had paſſed; that Mary ſhould not tarry more than three or four days, to alarm their fears, or diſturb their ordinary purſuits by her preſence. The preachers, even while they exhorted the people to acquieſce in this compromiſe, ſcrupled not to hint their

their ſuſpicions, that it would be ſoon violated by the Queen *.

Mary, whether actuated ſolely by her own zeal and indignation, or yielding to the ſuggeſtions of the prieſts and the Frenchmen who ſurrounded her; no ſooner ſaw the forces of the Congregation diſperſed, than ſhe began to diſcover herſelf willing to ſlight all the conditions of the late treaty. Her French guards attended her entrance into Perth. By a wanton diſcharge of their muſquets, when they came within the town, a youth was ſlain: And when his parents brought their complaint to the Queen, ſhe mocked their ſorrow with inhumane contempt. Ruthven, in violation of the liberties of the burgh, was, by her authority, diſplaced from the office of its provoſt; and Charteris of Kinſauns, whom the townſmen hated, was appointed in his ſtead. The Proteſtant magiſtrates, and all the known diſciples of the reformation, were driven into baniſhment. Such a garriſon was placed to remain in the town, as might be ſufficient to command due reſpect to the royal authority, and to the Catholic worſhip †.

While marking the progreſs of theſe events, we ſhould

* Lindſay, 318. 319.

† Knox, p. 139.: Lindſay, 318.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 576. Leſly, lib. x. p. 506.

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ſhould greatly err in adopting thoſe partialities of either the Proteſtants or the friends to the ancient Catholic religion, which hiſtorians have hitherto univerſally ſuffered to influence and bias their judgements, ſtill in favour of the one party or of the other, but chiefly in favour of the reformers. Ardently embracing religious truths, which they conceived to be of the laſt importance; and ſtriving, with honeſt benevolence, to procure to theſe truths a general reception; the reformers, in this, did greatly well. Nor are they to be blamed for exerting every effort that the laws of their country, and the apparent intereſts of peace and order, would permit them to make, for the purpoſe of procuring the public eſtabliſhment of that form of religious worſhip, which they conceived to be alone acceptable in the ſight of God.—Again, the Popiſh clergy and the Queen-regent, cannot be juſtly condemned, for not yielding to a ſudden converſion to the acceptance of the reformed belief; ſince we know, that a thouſand things, beſide the direct and conſcious reſolution or refuſal of the mind, to liſten to new propoſitions with candour, ever unavoidably concur in regulating the ſtream of human faith and opinion. If unconvinced of the truth of thoſe doctrines which the reformers taught, or of the ſuperior excellence of thoſe forms of worſhip which they ſtrove to introduce: the Romiſh clergy would have been baſe traitors to the cauſe of

of religion; the Queen-regent would have infamouſly deſerted that guardianſhip of the laws and the conſtitution which was committed to her: had *they* failed to make a vigorous oppoſition to the riſing hereſy; had *ſhe* ſuffered the national Church to be overthrown, without once raiſing the arm of the executive power of the ſtate to interpoſe and to ſave it.—Thus far, both the reformers and the adverſaries of the reformation might, without a crime on either ſide, maintain each thoſe forms of religion to which they were reſpectively attached.—But, when the reformers began to aim plainly at the immediate temporal overthrow of the eſtabliſhed Church; when they ſubſtituted artifice, calumny, and malignant invective, inſtead of humble, inoffenſive piety, and the meek expreſſion of thoſe truths of which they were ſo ardently perſuaded; when they ventured to aſſemble in arms for the celebration of religious worſhip, in a form unauthorized by the laws; when they proceeded to maltreat prieſts, to ungarniſh churches, to ſpoil and demoliſh convents; then, it muſt be confeſſed that then their reforming zeal hurried them into flagrant civil crimes.—On the other hand, when the Romiſh clergy, and even the Queen-regent, ſeemed, as it were, to dance like ſo many dæmons, with malignant joy, round the furnace of perſecution; when they urged perſecution beyond the point

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at which alone it could ſeem likely to overawe and reſtrain, not to exaſperate and make deſperately bold; when they had alſo weakly recourſe to artifices, and to violations of plighted faith, in order to ſuppreſs the reformation, and to puniſh its agents: in all theſe inſtances, *they*, too, held a tenor of conduct, which we muſt almoſt unconditionally condemn.—Thus does the guilt of thoſe crimes, with which the progreſs of this great revolution was attended, appear to have been ſhared between the two contending parties. If the one party were in general actuated by the ſtrong impulſe of new truth, tranſporting the ſoul, as it were, out of itſelf: the other party, contended for eſtabliſhed order, and had all thoſe amiable prejudices to influence their determinations, which teach us to revere the wiſdom of our forefathers, fondly to cheriſh their inſtitutions, and to imitate their manners. It were raſh to affirm, that, in the preſent inſtance, the Queen-regent's violation of her faith, was more criminal than the ſeditious inſurrection by which the reformers had previouſly violated the laws, ſlighted her authority, and ſacrilegiouſly inſulted her religion. When any great tumult of the human paſſions is excited; *right* and *virtue* never range themſelves on the one ſide; *uſurpation* and *criminality* on the other. The merit and the guilt are ever ſhared with tolerable equality, between thoſe upon both ſides. The progreſs of reaſon

reaſon goes on. But, men become guilty, and ſuffer,—both in raſhly promoting and in opoſing it. It muſt ever be ſo in the courſe of human affairs, till *men ſhall univerſally learn to propagate truth, of whatever nature, ſolely by communicating it, without any addreſs to the paſſions, and without any uſe of external force, to impreſs it againſt inward conviction.* Almoſt all the public meaſures which either the Preſbyterian or the Catholic party had, at this juncture, recourſe to, were adopted in the perſuaſion of their perfect rectitude. It was in the private vices of the partizans, in the general blindneſs and weakneſs of human nature, in the errors and prejudices peculiar to the age, that whatever was criminal in the proſecution of this conteſt, appears to have had its origin.

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No ſooner did the preachers of the reformation, and the nobles who had aſſumed the character of its leaders and protectors, ſee Mary violate the late treaty, by introducing French troops into Perth; than they inſtantly determined to aſſemble a new force for their general ſafety. Argyle, and Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, enraged becauſe the conditions ſtipulated by them, were not fulfilled, left the Queen's preſence, and, without delay, repaired to join the Congregation. If they could not enforce the obſervance of a treaty which they had

Tranſactions to the violation of the treaty of Perth.

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had been perſuaded to negociate; they might at leaſt lend their aid to puniſh thoſe by whom it was ſlighted. Leaving the Queen, theſe nobles ſent meſſengers into Angus, inviting Erſkine of Dun, and the other converts of the reformation in that diſtrict, to join them in all ſpeed at St Andrew's. *Knox*, in the mean time, yet more zealous and indefatigable than all the reſt, paſſed through Lower Strathern and Fife, to the eaſtern coaſt of this laſt county. Whereever he ſhewed himſelf, the flame of the reformation was kindled, and was ſpread abroad with inexpreſſible rapidity and force. At Crail, at Anſtruther, he preached with his wonted fervour; and the churches were, by a furious mob, deſpoiled of all their Papiſtical furniture; the images were deſtroyed, and the altars overthrown. From Anſtruther, he proceeded to St Andrew's; fearleſs of whatever oppoſition the Archbiſhop might there be expected to make againſt his reforming efforts. The Archbiſhop alarmed by the aſſembling of that part of the Congregation, which had already convened in his Archiepiſcopal city, by the news of the approach of ſo many more, by the tumult with which they advanced; ſoon left the city, and retired to join the Queen. In this metropolis of that idolatry which he contended to overthrow, Knox preached with more

more than his wonted fervour. The uſual effects enſued. The churches were deſpoiled of their Papal ornaments: The monaſteries were levelled with the ground. From Mearns, from Angus, from Strathern, from all Fife, a powerful force had again aſſembled in arms, to defend the cauſe of the reformation. The Queen-regent, aware of their intentions, and of their movements, quickly advanced from Stirling, to which ſhe had returned, and came as far as Falkland, with her French troops led by D'Oyſel, and with a Scottiſh force under the Duke of Chattelherault, who ſtill wavered between the two parties. Already ſtronger in numbers than they themſelves could have hoped, or than the Queen and her counſellors could ſuppoſe; the Congregation marched forward to Cupar. At Cupar, new reinforcements joined them. Aware of their approach, and that it was deſigned to anticipate an expected march of the royal forces; the Queen, with her followers, advanced as far as Tarbat-hill, to meet them. It was now morning, and ſtill new troops of horſemen and of footmen continued to come in to the aid of the Congregation. They marched out, and ſtationed themſelves advantageouſly on Cupar-muir, in a ſituation where their artillery could be readily levelled againſt their opponents advancing to attack them, without their troops being for

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this the more expoſed to a diſadvantageous fight, if the enemy ſhould come up to engage them in cloſer combat, hand to hand. So numerous were now the forces of the Congregation, ſo well appointed, ſo highly animated by native courage doubly inflamed by religious zeal; that the event of a battle with them was not at this time likely to be eaſy and certain victory to the forces of the Queen. But, the morning was dark and hazy; the low overhanging miſts for a while concealed a great part of their force; the Queen and her officers were not ſufficiently aware of the ſtrength and numbers of thoſe whom they were preparing to attack. About mid-day, the miſts began to be diſperſed; and then the wide battle-array of the Congregation was clearly viſible from a diſtance. Argyle, the Prior of St Andrew's, Ruthven the diſplaced provoſt of Perth, Haliburton the provoſt of Dundee, and Learmonth provoſt of St Andrew's, were among their leaders. The Queen had not full, undoubting confidence in the fidelity and loyal ardour even of thoſe nobles and their followers, by whom ſhe was herſelf attended. Againſt an handful, they would perhaps have fought with manful and contemptuous valour. But, diſliking their French aſſociates, and being not without ſecret correſpondences with the Congregatio n

gregation; was it not to be dreaded, that, when they ſaw theſe ſo powerful, ſome of them might be induced to revolt, and change ſides, as ſoon as the battle ſhould be joined? In theſe circumſtances, what could Mary do? She thought inſtantly of another temporary accommodation with the rebels. A meſſenger was ſent with conciliatory, but general and unſatisfactory propoſitions. He was diſmiſſed with an anſwer alike diſſatisfactory. This high language from the Congregation, and the fearleſs conduct which they ſhewed, could not but increaſe the alarm of Mary and her counſellors. Other meſſengers of higher rank, and with fuller powers, were again diſpatched from the royal army. To them the leaders of the 1559. Congregation at laſt declared, that they were willing to lay down their arms, and retire, if they might but obtain ſatisfactory aſſurance of impunity for what was paſt, of ſecurity in future, of liberty to worſhip God agreeably to their conſciences, above all, if the Queen would agree immediately to withdraw her troops beyond the Forth. Knowing that the preſence of the French troops in the kingdom, was the principal grievance, in complaining of which, both Catholics and Proteſtants were likely to concur; they inſiſted upon this with the loudeſt earneſtneſs. From theſe conditions it was vain to

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to hope to make them recede: yet, by yielding theſe, the Queen-regent would give up that for which ſhe had drawn her forces firſt to Perth, and now again to Falkland. But no choice of alternatives remained to her. A deed, ſuch as the Congregation required, was prepared and ſigned. The French forces were without delay withdrawn. The troops of the Congregation immediately diſperſed themſelves. Mutual ſlaughter was thus prevented; partly by the mutual fears of both parties, for each other's ſtrength; partly by their reverence for each other's rights and good intentions *.

Siege and capture of Perth.

But, Perth was as yet in the hands of that garriſon which Mary had recently placed in it. They protected the Catholic religion; overawed and oppreſſed the friends of the reformation. The Lords of the Congregation had expected, that, in conſequence of the treaty, this garriſon of Frenchmen ſhould alſo retire beyond the Forth, and leave Perth open to its former magiſtrates and inhabitants. But, this article was not diſtinctly expreſſed in the recent treaty: And Mary did not think herſelf obliged, now to fulfil the violated conditions of that of Perth. Beſides, making a diſtinction between *Frenchmen* and

* Knox, 140.—143.: Lindſay, 318.—322.:

Scots in the French ſervice, which the leaders of the Congregation were unwilling to acknowledge; ſhe thus alſo contrived rather to elude, than directly violate ſome of the terms of theſe treaties. A letter from Argyle and Stuart Prior of St Andrew's, was ſent ſoon after the French forces had left Fife, to demand the evacuation of the town of Perth. Without awaiting her anſwer, theſe Lords began again to muſter a force, in order to compel, by ſiege and aſſault, what, they could not ſuppoſe, would be voluntarily conceded by the Queen-regent or her ſervants. Summoned by the beſieging Congregation to ſurrender and depart from the town; the garriſon, and Charteris the provoſt, declared their determination to hold it for the Queen againſt all aſſailants. Having received this anſwer, the reformers no longer delayed the commencement of hoſtilities. Attracted by their zeal and ſucceſs, new adherents now joined them; the Earl of Monteith, repairing with his vaſſals from the northern diviſion of the ſhire of Stirling; and Campbell of Glenurchart, coming from the ſouthern confines of Argyleſhire, to take part with the Earl of Argyle, the chieftain of his clan. Huntley, Erſkine, and Bannatyne, came with new propoſals from the Queen, to avert the danger of the ſiege. But, their propoſals favoured more of artifice than of ingenuous conceſſion; and the Congregation had determined to hearken to no terms which

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which ſhould not offer the immediate withdrawing of the garriſon—and the leaving to the citizens the free exerciſe of the reformed religion. The Queen's ambaſſadors returned in diſappointment, without having accompliſhed the purpoſe of their coming. The ſiege was vigorouſly proſecuted; the garriſon, and the Queen's partizans within, made a gallant defence. Yet, unprovided with the means of withſtanding, for any long time, an aſſault, which was now furiouſly made with artillery, from the eaſtern and the weſtern ſides; they were ſoon obliged to ſue for a capitulation; offering to deliver up the town within an hour, unleſs relief ſhould, in the mean time, arrive to them from the Queen; on condition that they ſhould then be permitted to march out, with their banners diſplayed, and with the uſual honours of war. The beſiegers granted them a capitulation upon theſe terms. No relief arrived. The garriſon departed. The troops of the Congregation entered. Ruthven and the former magiſtrates were reſtored to the government of the town *.

Now maſters once more of the town of Perth; the Congregation proceeded to exerciſe their reforming zeal, in the deſtruction of whatever monuments of Popery had before been ſpared. Scone, a rich abbey, of which the Biſhop of Moray

* Knox, p. 144. 145.: Lindſay, p. 323.

Moray was the principal eccleſiaſtic, lying in the near vicinity of Perth, naturally attracted the pillaging ſpirit of the multitude. That multitude was, after the late ſucceſſes, to be gratified with new ſpoils, otherwiſe their reforming zeal might quickly become languid. While a threatening meſſage was ſent from the Lords of the Congregation to the Biſhop, requiring him to eſpouſe the cauſe of the reformation, and menacing ruin to the abbey and all its edifices, if he ſhould dare to refuſe; in the mean time, the rabble, and thoſe who, in the extravagance of their zeal, thought it would be hainouſly criminal to ſpare ſuch a ſeat of idolatry as Scoone; haſtened to anticipate and diſappoint whatever ſparing and lenient meaſures, the Biſhop's expected anſwer might ſuggeſt. Aware that, without at leaſt a ſeeming compliance with the demands of the Congregation, he could not ſave the abbey, nor perhaps eſcape in his own perſon, from their reforming violence; the Biſhop readily anſwered to their meſſage, that he would comply with all their demands. But, the greedy plundering mob already ſurrounded their monaſtery; and their preachers and leaders were vainly, perhaps not very ſincerely, making ſome faint efforts to reſtrain the pillage. The pretence of other affairs quickly called away the leaders. Seeing the Biſhop's houſehold, and the eccleſiaſtics of the monaſtery, arm themſelves for their

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defence, and make ſome endeavours to fortify their place; the fury of the mob was inflamed, at the ſight, to the utmoſt extravagance. A ſword was drawn, on the ſide of the Biſhop's ſervants, in defence of the granary. A citizen of Dundee was wounded. Without delay, the multitude pillaging whatever they could eaſily reach, ſet the reſt on fire. The whole buildings of the abbey were ſoon burnt to the earth. The crowd looked on with ſavage joy; congratulating one another as the authors of a ſervice highly grateful in the ſight of Heaven; and fiercely declaring their own crime to be the judgement of God upon the idolatry, the luxury, the cruelty, and the obſcene crimes of the monks *!

Progreſs of the Congregation from Perth to Edinburgh.

While an unarmed and irregular multitude, chiefly citizens of the towns of Perth and Dundee, were thus employed in ſpreading deſtation over every monument of the Papal religion, which remained in Perth, and its immediate vicinity; Argyle and the Prior of St Andrew's had already departed in the night, with a troop of armed followers, to take poſſeſſion of Stirling for the Congregation. The ordinary number of troops had been withdrawn out of Stirling-caſtle, in order to march againſt the reformers at

* Knox, p. 145. 146.: Lindſay, p. 313.: Leſly, lib. x. p. 508.: Buchanan, &c.

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at St Andrew's. Having been conveyed out of Fife, by the paſſage-boats near to the mouth of the frith of Forth; they had not yet returned to occupy the caſtle which they had formerly garriſoned. There was among the inhabitants of Stirling, and its neighbourhood, a diſpoſition to favour the cauſe of the reformation, which, to their weak, raſh, inconſiderate judgements, the hand of God might have ſeemed, in the late events, conſpicuouſly and miraculouſly to proſper. Aware that Stirling was the key by which the paſſage from the northern to the ſouthern counties of Scotland might be opened or ſhut; the Queen-regent was now preparing to ſecure and fortify it againſt any attempts of thoſe to whom ſhe had been compelled to relinquiſh all beyond the Forth. Argyle and the Prior of St Andrew's anticipated and fruſtrated her deſign. At Stirling, as in the towns beyond the Forth, they demoliſhed the monaſteries, ſpoiled the churches, and, for as much as was poſſible, effaced every veſtige of Romiſh ſuperſtition. From Stirling, the ſame company proceeded to Linlithgow; and, in the fury of their holy zeal, committed there the ſame exceſſes, and ſpread the ſame devaſtation. Only the leaders, the preachers, and a ſmall number of the better armed and the more opulent among their followers, went ſteadily on in this career. The multitude fluctuated more looſely about them; ran to join them

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in the first burst of zeal; then, after a few days stay, having consumed their provisions, and acquired some share of the plunder of the religious houses, again returned home; soon to hasten once more back to swell the crowd of those who propagated the reformation by violence, and to approve themselves faithful servants in what they deemed the cause of God. Numbers were continually coming to join the Congregation; aud numbers were still retiring homewards from it. Fear of the excesses which the reformers were unavoidably driven to perpetrate; that sort of sympathetic contagion of passion and opinion, which ever spreads upon any extraordinary occasion among a multitude, with the rapidity and the mysterious communication of an epidemic distemper; the persuasion that Heaven was on the side of the reformers; indignant hatred against the mercenary French troops by which Scotland was oppressed; all operated to crown the efforts of Argyle, Stuart, and the preachers, with the most flattering and the most extraordinary success. Mary, at Edinburgh, hearing of their approach, of the force by which they were attended, of the still kindling spirit with which they were inflamed, of the church-destroying riots which still accompanied their progress; would not await their coming within the gates of Edinburgh, but fled, in trepidation and haste, to seek her safety in the castle of Dunbar.

The

The citizens of Edinburgh were ripe for a revolt against the Catholic religion. The Lord Seton, the Provoſt, had for ſome days, with great difficulty, protected the monaſteries from their fury. He fled with the Queen. The convents were inſtantly ſacked and ſpoiled. The Congregation were received by a great part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh with open arms *.

Masters in that town, which was the ordinary ſeat of the government, the Congregation now began to conduct their proceedings with greater ſolemnity. They ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the monuments of the Catholic worſhip, which Edinburgh as yet contained. They ſeized the mint, in order to ſupport themſelves, and to diſtreſs the party of the Queen, by detaining, from the uſe of their opponents, the royal treaſures. They at leaſt hindered not the emiſſaries of England from entering the town, to witneſs their tranſactions, if not to negociate with them for the overthrow of the authority of Francis and Mary. They expelled the Catholic clergy from every pulpit; and celebrated religious worſhip, with extraordinary ardour and perſeverance, according to the ritual of the Preſbyterian reformation. In the midſt of this triumph, the Queen-regent dared not to make

* Knox, p. 146.: Lindſay, p. 323.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 580.: Leſly, p. 508.

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make any attempts againſt them otherwiſe than by iſſuing a proclamation, in which they were charged as leſs zealous for religious reformation, than for rebellion. But in the mean while, the friends to the ancient religion, and to the royal authority, rallied round the Queen-regent. The charge of civil rebellion ſtruck aghaſt many, who had not conceived that they could be guilty of rebellion, while they ſtrove only to explode idolatry, and to eſtabliſh, inſtead of it, that form of religion which they believed to be alone founded in ſacred truth. A ſcarcity of proviſions began to be felt at Edinburgh, in conſequence of the extraordinary reſort of people to that city, and their continuance in it for ſo many days together. The leaders began to fear, that their followers might conceive ſuſpicions of the motives on which they acted: and ſuch ſuſpicions began actually to ariſe, excited by the charge urged in the late proclamation. Thus diſheartened, cooled in their zeal, almoſt divided from one another, alarmed by the retroſpection of what they had dared and atchieved, in contempt of the royal authority, the Congregation entered again into negociation with the Queen. A conference was held at Preſton, between a certain number of commiſſioners, on the part of the Queen; and the Lords of Congregation, for themſelves, and thoſe who had eſpouſed the ſame intereſts with them. Nothing was, however,

ever, concluded. The Preſbyterians demanded, that liberty ſhould be granted, legally, for the open exerciſe of their forms of worſhip throughout the kingdom; that the Queen ſhould diſmiſs to France all her mercenary troops, whether native Frenchmen, or Scots receiving pay from the French King. Mary and her Counſellors anſwered in ambiguous terms, which ſhewed them deſirous, more to amuſe and outwit, than to ſatisfy, the agents of the congregation. While the negociations were protracted, the members of the Congregation were again, for the greater part, diſperſed from Edinburgh to their homes; going to procure new ſupplies of proviſions, to depoſit what they had procured from the ſpoils of the religious houſes,—or out of an inconſiderate perſuaſion, that they had done enough, and that their religion muſt now neceſſarily triumph. Informed of this ſtate of the affairs of the Congregation, which was, in a great meaſure, the effect of her own conſummate policy; Mary, with a powerful force, which was now aſſembled round her, ſuddenly advanced from Dunbar towards Edinburgh; and ere Argyle, Stuart, and Knox, could draw out an army to oppoſe her, had happily poſſeſſed herſelf of Leith. Leith was thus in the hands of an hoſtile force. The Governor of the caſtle of Edinburgh was ready to turn its cannon againſt whoever was diſloyal to the Queen-regent. The feeble-

Negociations between the Queen and the Congregation,

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feeble-minded Hamilton was ſtill with Mary. In theſe circumſtances, the Lords of the Congregation ſaw themſelves compelled to agree to a treaty, of which they might foreſee the probable violation, becauſe it left ſtill, in the Queen's hands, the means to violate it. It was ſtipulated, that the gates of the city of Edinburgh ſhould be again opened to the Queen; that the Preſbyterians ſhould implicitly ſubmit themſelves to her authority; that the Catholics ſhould be left, without moleſtation, in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the poſſeſſion of their convents and churches: But that, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Edinburgh ſhould be free to chuſe between the Preſbyterian and the Catholic religion; that no garriſon of French or Scottiſh ſoldiers ſhould be ſtationed within the city; that at leaſt equal freedom of profeſſing the reformed religion, ſhould be enjoyed throughout all other parts of the kindom. By this treaty, no party could be ſatisfied. It gained to the Queen conditions ſomewhat leſs diſadvantageous and diſhonourable, than thoſe which prevented a battle at Coupar; but was far from re-eſtabliſhing the due influence of the royal authority, and brought no compenſation for the injuries which the Catholics had ſuffered, or for the ſacrilege with which all the holieſt monuments of their religion had been violated. It gave to the Preſbyterians a neceſſary amneſty for

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their

their ſeditious crimes; and ſanctioned with the authority of law, the public profeſſion of their religion: But, they well knew, that whatever the conditions of the treaty, that amneſty, and that freedom of religious worſhip, would be enjoyed, only ſo far as the Queen-regent wanted power to with-hold them: and of her power, the moſt dangerous inſtrument, the mercenary troops, had not yet been wreſted from her hands *.

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Melville's embaſſy.

While theſe things paſſed in Scotland, the Court of France were not without doubts concerning the expediency of ſuppreſſing the reformation, by thoſe meaſures of violence which the Queen-regent had been inſtructed to employ. Even in France, the Calviniſtic form of the reformed religion, had been preached with extraordinary ſucceſs. It had been received, at firſt, with willing attention, among the clergy and the men of learning. From them, it had been propagated among numbers of the lower people, whoſe ſituation ſubjected them to few of thoſe prejudices of intereſt which were the moſt adverſe to its reception. It had acquired, at laſt, ſufficient importance to win the protection of the great. Many of the French nobles were, about this time, diſpoſed to look with favour on the religion of Calvin. Even in the Court, its intereſts were eſpouſed by Montmorency, who ri-

* Knox, p. 146.—155.: Leſly, p. 308. 509.: Lindſay, p. 323.

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valled the Guiſes in the favour of Henry the Second. Montmorency, willing to protect the reformed religion, and to traverſe all the projects of the Guiſes, diſpatched to Scotland, a ſecret meſſenger from among his train, who might hearken to the complaints of the Scottiſh reformers, and might return to France with information, which ſhould enable Montmorency to ſupplant the Guiſes with his royal maſter, by expoſing the evils which aroſe from their miſtaken policy in the government of Scotland. This meſſenger was James Melville, the ſon of Melville of Raith, a man who had been put to death for a traitorous correſpondence with England, into which he had been led by his connections with the reformers. James Melville, aſſociating chiefly, while in Scotland upon this miſſion, with the reformers, heard all their grievances, gave credit to all their profeſſions of honeſt and loyal intentions, encouraged them to hope redreſs and ſatisfaction from his maſter's influence in the French councils; and returned to France with abundant materials, ſuch as his Lord might uſe, to work the ruin of the Guiſes. But, about the time of his return, Henry periſhed by an accident in a fooliſh rencounter; and the influence of Montmorency was no more. Francis the Second, the huſband of Mary Stuart, was exalted on his father's throne: And her uncles, the Guiſes, engroſſed

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groſſed the adminiſtration of the royal power, without a rival. The hopes which Melville had excited among his countrymen, were therefore fruſtrated. The original deſigns which the Guiſes had conceived, were now to be purſued, almoſt from one end of Europe to the other, with greater boldneſs and vigour than before *.

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New meaſures of the Congregation.

Thus without reſource, ſave in their own prudence, zeal, and valour, the reformers could only perſevere in the courſe on which they had entered. That Mary would ſcrupulouſly obſerve the treaty to which ſhe had agreed, was not to be confidently hoped. It was their buſineſs, during the firſt leiſure which this treaty gave, to ſtrengthen themſelves by new meaſures of defence, againſt whatever ſhe ſhould undertake againſt them. At Stirling, they ſolemnly renewed their bond of aſſociation; and openly reſolved to aſk from England, in which the reign of Elizabeth had now finally eſtabliſhed the reformed religion. Happily, the Duke of Chattelherault, was now at laſt driven to regard the French Court as irreconcileably determined to accompliſh the ruin of his houſe. Without longer heſitation, he threw himſelf into the arms of the reform-

* Melville's Memoirs, p. 53.—56.: Henault, Abregé Chronol. &c.

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ers. To ſtrengthen themſelves in the weſtern diſtricts, Glencairn, Boyd, and Ochiltree, retired from Stirling, for a ſhort time, to Ayrſhire; the Prior of St Andrew's, and the Earl of Argyle, to the regions which remained under the juriſdiction and influence of Argyle. The caſtle of Dunbarton, the principal ſtrong place on the frith of Clyde, fell into their hands. Others remaining at Stirling, and in the middle diſtricts of the kingdom; were in readineſs to ſound the alarm, and to convoke their brethren from all quarters, whenever the Queen-regent ſhould threaten the ſafety of any of the Congregation, by the violation of the recent treaty of Edinburgh *.

Supplies from France to the Queen-regent.

No ſooner had young Francis aſcended the French throne, than the Guiſes diſpatched meſſengers to notify this event to the Queen-regent of Scotland. Theſe meſſengers were alſo the bearers of orders, enjoining her to proſecute, with increaſed vigour and ſeverity, thoſe meaſures of hoſtility and violence which ſhe had begun to employ againſt the reformers. An army of French ſoldiers, ſuch as might be ſufficient eaſily to ſuppreſs the tumultuary inſurrections of the votaries of the new doctrines, was promiſed to follow ſpeedily, under the command of the *Marquis d'Elbœuf*. Threatening meſſages from their Sovereign

* Knox, p. 154.—156. &c.

reign were, by the same ambassadors, communicated to Stuart the Prior of St Andrew's, and to the other leaders of the Congregation. The Queen-regent was encouraged to act with new boldness, haughtiness, and unfaithfulness, towards all the reformers, and all who favoured them. Irritated, as she already was, beyond the wonted gentleness of her nature, by the insurrections raised against her authority, and the profanation of the holiest things of her religion; she did not fail to display openly her full sense of all the advantages which these recent promises and commands from France, evidently gave against her enemies. Of the promised forces, a part, amounting to the number of a thousand soldiers, soon after arrived; bringing, at the same time, a plentiful supply of money, arms, and other military stores. Within no long time, these were reinforced by the arrival of two thousand more, under the command of M. de la Brosse. Pelleve, Bishop of Amiens, and three other ecclesiastics, doctors of the Sorbonne, accompanied these last forces, in order that the arguments of the doctors might co-operate to the overthrow of heresy, with the arms of the warriors, and the thunder of the cannons *.

Conduct of the Congregation.

In the mean time, the leaders of the Congregation

* Knox, p. 156. &c.: Lindsay, p. 324.: Lesly, p. 510.—515.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p.

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gation were not idle. They acted like men superior to slackness or timidity, who saw their dearest interests at stake, and who were roused to the most energetic exertion of all the vigilance and activity of which they were capable. Young Arran's account of the danger which he had with difficulty escaped in France, had added Chattelherault, with *open* co-operation to their party. The shires of Argyle, Renfrew, and Ayr, were almost all in arms, zealous to fight and die for their newly embraced religion, and in defence of the liberties of their country. The zeal of the inhabitants of the north-east counties had been inflamed and exalted, not slackened, by the progress of the reformation. In Edinburgh, the greater number of the citizens, with Willock, the preacher, at their head, were faithful converts to the new doctrines, and gloried in the late spoliation of their convents and churches. Stirling and Perth were in the hands of the reformers. The preachers were emissaries, active and zealous, almost above the powers of humanity: That novelty, and those hopes of spoils, which had at the first allured many converts, still operated with all their former force: The presence of so many Frenchmen, the idea that the French leaders were to be gratified with the confiscated estates of all who favoured the reformation, kindled up for its support, all the national

tional pride, and all the patriotism, which naturally burned with ardour in the breasts of Scotsmen. Frequent proclamations, published against the Congregation by the authority of the Queen-regent, were, by the address of the busiest agents of the reform, represented in a light in which they served to counteract her own purposes. At the head of the Congregation were, the political and military talents of Stuart, Argyle, Glencairn, and Ruthven; the illustrious name of Hamilton; the fearless, enthusiastic, transported zeal of Knox and the other preachers. England was at hand; the hopes of its assistance were ready in the minds of all. To the Queen's proclamations, the reformers made answer with a virulence, and an artful imputation of wicked purposes, which even exceeded what her ministers had taught her to expect. While she expelled the preachers from the churches of Edinburgh, fortified Leith, and endeavoured to call around her all who were still loyal to their King, and faithful to the ancient religion; they, in their turn, assembled at Hamilton; dispatched letters throughout the kingdom, in the Duke's name, calling the friends of their country to protect its liberties against French tyranny; and appointed an early convention to meet at Edinburgh, for the purpose of pursuing those measures of hostility, which the conduct of the

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the French Court and the Queen-regent ſeemed to leave them no longer at liberty to decline *.

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Measures of hoſtility employed againſt the Congregation.

But, Mary confided more in that Gallic force which was continually augmented by new ſupplies, than in the favour of any part of the Scottiſh nation. Her French troops ſtrongly fortified the ſea-port town of Leith, by which they might command means of retreat out of the iſland, in the caſe of final ill-ſucceſs, or might receive from time to time new ſupplies, to reinforce their ſtrength, and aid their efforts. From Leith they made inroads into the circumjacent country, poſſeſſed themſelves of ſeveral ſtrong holds on the coaſt of Fife, ſupported thoſe who were in that region ſtill faithful to the Queen, grievouſly annoyed the partizans of the reformation, ſpoiled alſo the towns of Linlithgow and Stirling, ſpread terror and devaſtation far and wide, but yet not without often ſuffering from Scottiſh valour, diſaſters and calamities little leſs grievous than thoſe which they inflicted. Amidſt this force and activity of her foreign troops, the Queen once more purified all the churches of Edinburgh, expelled the preachers, cauſed thoſe inſcriptions to be effaced with which the Reformers had covered the walls of the houſes of worſhip, reſtored once more, with ſolemn veneration, thoſe altars which had been overthrown

* Knox, p. 156.—179.: Buchanan, lib. xvi. p. 581.—583.: Lindſay, p. 324.: Leſly. lib. x. p. 515.

thrown, and those images which had been broken down. While the party of the Congregation, now uttering more the voice of patriotism, than that of religious zeal, demanded the dismissal of all the French troops, as the price for which they might be persuaded to return to their duty: Mary and her counsellors protested the fairness of their intentions towards the constitutional liberties of the Scottish nation; yet talked of the necessity of foreign aid to suppress rebellion; execrated the treasonable correspondence of the Lords of the Congregation with the English; and half avowed their purpose to subjugate, by a mercenary army, a people whose favour could not be, by gentler means, conciliated to the measures of their government *.

Measures of the Congregation.

In the mean time, the Lords of the Congregation were much more successful than the Queen-regent, in their attempts to win the general favour of the nation to their cause. They failed not to assemble in a parliamentary convention at Edinburgh, on the twenty-first day of October, as they had resolved. All mutual overtures towards reconciliation proving vain, they determined to attack the French within their fortifications at Leith. They prepared such means and engines of assault as they could readily procure; and marched out to assail their adversaries; with a too presumptuous

* Eosdem quos supra.

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confidence, that God from on high would give victory to their endeavours; even as he was, in the ſcriptures, related to have often, againſt all human probability, crowned with ſucceſs the arms of the Iſraelites of old. But, the Queen had ſpies in the midſt of them, by whom ſhe was ſecretly advertiſed of all their purpoſes, and of the poorneſs of the means which they poſſeſſed to accompliſh them. The hired ſoldiers who ſerved among them, could not obtain their pay, and began, therefore, to riſe in mutiny. Againſt the arms, the order, the military ſkill, the abundance of all neceſſaries, which conſtituted the ſtrength of the French troops, how little could be atchieved by the undiſciplined valour of a mob of enthuſiaſts? Whatever aſſaults the reformers made from Edinburgh upon Leith, were, by the French ſoldiers, ſucceſsfully repulſed. The French iſſuing to intercept a convoy of proviſions which was expected by their enemies, were oppoſed, with the ſame ill ſucceſs as before, by the forces of the Congregation; routed them again with conſiderable ſlaughter; and, by this victory, encouraged a conſiderable part of the inhabitants of Edinburgh, to declare boldly and loudly againſt a party who were no longer proſperous. Amid theſe diſaſters, the loſs of a ſum of money obtained from England, but of which the Earl of Bothwell robbed their envoy; left the Lords of the Congregation almoſt without reſource. It was in vain

vain, that they took and ſpoiled Bothwell's caſtle of Crichton. The money had been previouſly conveyed away; Bothwell himſelf eſcaped falling into their hands. The ſpoils of his caſtle were but a poor compenſation for the loſs of the booty which he had ſeized. Mary of Lorraine was, by the authority of the Convention of the reformers, ſuſpended from the Regency of the kingdom. But, the reverſes which they now experienced, threatened to make that ſuſpenſion more hurtful to its authors than to Mary and her adminiſtration. Knox, having in vain laboured, with the other leaders of the Congregation, to inflame and maintain the dying zeal of their party; tried a different theme; and repreſented their defeats and diſaſters, as the puniſhment of Heaven, inflicted upon their lukewarmneſs and other crimes. Maitland of Lethington ſuddenly deſerting the party and the Councils of the Queen; now attached himſelf to the intereſts of the Congregation; yet ſtrove in vain to perſuade them in their preſent circumſtances, to remain in Edinburgh, or at leaſt to leave ſuch a force in it, as might preſerve the city from being again occupied by Mary and her troops. William Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the murderers of Beaton, one of the moſt gallant captains of the age, in vain endeavoured yet to breathe ſome portion of his own ardour into the deſpondent partizans of the reformation.

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Even ſome of their principal leaders ſeemed to ſhare the faint-heartedneſs of the mob. They retired in confuſion and fear out of Edinburgh. One company paſſed to Glaſgow, and another to Dyſart in Fife. Edinburgh was once more occupied by the Queen-regent and her attendants. The young Earl of Arran was proclaimed a traitor. Lord Erſkine was ſummoned to deliver the caſtle of Edinburgh into the hands of ſervants in whom Mary could confide. And it ſeemed, for a time, as if the reformation were about to be overthrown, and the liberties of Scotland to be for ever deſtroyed *.

Progreſs of the conteſt.

But, diſappointment, misfortune, and the terror of greater evils rapidly ariſing to overwhelm them; ſerved only to arouſe the Congregation to new energy of exertion. What aid they requeſted from England was, after ſome difficulties obtained; for the intereſts of Queen Elizabeth now coincided entirely with theirs. Lord Erſkine refuſed to ſurrender the caſtle of Edinburgh at the Queen's ſummons. In Fife, although ſome partial ſucceſſes crowned the efforts of the French arms; yet the Congregation were generally and finally victorious. A powerful fleet from England at length entered the bay of the Forth: and ſeveral veſſels from France coming with

* Lindſay, p. 32.: Knox, b. 1. ſub fine.

with letters, ſupplies, and new orders to the Queen-regent, were ſpeedily made the prizes of its force and vigilance. No longer retaining their ancient averſion to the Engliſh; but, regarding the Engliſh in compariſon with the French, as guardian angels compared to dæmons of deſtruction; the Scottiſh nobles of the Congregation, ſent a deputation to meet an Engliſh army, which now approached on land by the way of Berwick, and to conduct them onwards to Edinburgh, to their aid. Knox, the apoſtle of this reformation, the ſoul and preſiding ſpirit of that league in which its diſciples were now united; had opened the laſt effectual intercourſe with England; had drawn the nobles of his party to enter into it fully: And he it was who now conducted the general ſyſtem of the meaſures which were purſued; ſo that they might the moſt fully tend to the final eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion by law among the Scots. The proſpect of powerful aid from England, gave new hopes of final triumph over the French. And theſe hopes encouraged numbers of the Scottiſh nobles to flock to the ſtandard of the Congregation; who might otherwiſe have reſiſted the call of patriotiſm, and remained neutral, or might perhaps have at length joined the forces of the Queen *.

Elizabeth

* Lindſay, p. 325.—329.: Knox, p. 199.—223, &c.

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Elizabeth and her miniſters had, from the firſt, perceived all the importance of ſupporting the reformation, and oppoſing the meaſures of France, among the Scots. Accuſtomed, however, to act, on every occaſion, with cautious prudence and circumſpection, ſhe had avoided the inconveniencies which might have ariſen from eſpouſing too raſhly the cauſe of the Scottiſh reformers, while they were as yet but a faction or party in the land. They had not been forbidden to hope for powerful aid to be at ſome future time obtained from Elizabeth. Some ſmall ſupplies of money had not been refuſed them. Engliſh emiſſaries had watched the progreſs of the conteſt between them and their Queen, as if of purpoſe to mark the moment when Engliſh aid might be moſt ſeaſonably afforded. But, till the whole nation ſeemed to be engaged in the cauſe; till the firſt Prince of the royal blood had put himſelf formally at their head; till an act of the Convention had degraded the Queen-regent from her office; till the deſigns of France to ſubject Scotland to the laws of conqueſt, had been unambiguouſly evinced: the Engliſh Court had ſtill delayed to enter into an open and deciſive alliance with the Scots, againſt their Gallic oppreſſors. Since that alliance had been openly and finally contracted by the negotiations of Maitland of

of Lethington, at the Engliſh Court; the activity with which Elizabeth haſtened to give it effect, had been ſuch as fully to evince her ardent ſincerity in favour of the Scottiſh reformers. Already were the French ſhut up by ſea; while the Engliſh fleet rode maſters of the Scottiſh coaſts from Berwick to Dundee. By land, a powerful Engliſh army had now entered the Scottiſh confines, and was advancing to join the forces of the Congregation, and to co-operate with them againſt the French. This army conſiſted of ſix thouſand infantry, and two thouſand horſe, under the command of the Lord Grey of Wilton. At Preſton, they were reſpectfully received by the Duke of Chattelherault, and the other Scottiſh nobles who were the leaders in the reformation, with all their followers. The country around Edinburgh had been already laid waſte by the French troops. But, the Engliſh brought with them ample ſupplies of neceſſaries: their fleet on the coaſt was ready to bring what more might be wanted: and the Congregation themſelves eagerly offered whatever the condition of their country could enable them to provide for the entertainment of their allies. After ſome days of deliberation, it was determined once more to beſiege the French forces in Leith. The Scottiſh and Engliſh armies then decamped; and, with all their baggage and artillery, moved onward

Arrival of the Engliſh auxiliaries.

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onward in great harmony and confidence to Reſ-talrig.

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While theſe tranſactions proceeded, in the intercourſe of the Scots with the Engliſh; the miniſters of the Queen-regent, the ambaſſadors of France, the French captains and their troops, had beſtirred themſelves with extraordinary zeal and activity; both to prevent the union of the Engliſh with the Scots, and then to prepare for vigorouſly withſtanding their united efforts. At the Engliſh Court, Monluc Biſhop of Valence, had, by a thouſand artifices of negociation, laboured to make Elizabeth with-hold her ſuccours from the Scottiſh reformers, until a ſufficient force ſhould have arrived from France, to reſiſt, and triumph over, the hoſtilities of both the Scots and the Engliſh. The Princes of Lorraine, the miniſters of the young French King, ſtruggled; amidſt the difficulties of thoſe affairs on the continent, with which they were now embarraſſed; to ſend, without delay, ſuch ſupplies as might ſtill enable their ſiſter to maintain her authority among the Scots. But a tempeſt ſcattered and drove back the fleet that conveyed their laſt ſuccours. The French forces ſallied out from Leith, ſtill in various excurſions over the country, to procure for themſelves proviſions, to deſtroy whatever might be of uſe to their enemies, and to cut off

thoſe

thoſe enemies by ſurpriſe, wherever they wandered in ſtraggling parties, or lay in heedleſs ſecurity. While the Duke of Chattelherault beſieged the caſtle of Sempill, an adherent to the party of the Queen-regent; the French marched ſuddenly to relieve the beſieged; but finding that they had come too late, ſpoiled the city of Glaſgow; and then returned, after having in vain endeavoured to draw Hamilton and his followers to a battle. Stirling was for ſome time occupied by the French; but finding it unſafe to weaken their force by diviſion, they were at laſt obliged to abandon it, and to withdraw to Leith, the detachment by which it had been garriſoned. While the hoſts of the Scots and Engliſh aſſembling all around, encompaſſed the French on every quarter, ſtill nearer and nearer, and prepared to ſhut them up in Leith; the French gradually concentrated their force, increaſed their fortifications, and employed every means within their power to enable them to withſtand a ſiege or a blockade, till new ſuccours ſhould arrive from France. They might have occupied Edinburgh rather than Leith. But, while the caſtle was not in their hands, they would have been unſafe in the town: Their numbers were unequal to the defence of a place ſo extenſive as Edinburgh: A ſea-port ſuch as Leith was neceſſary, that they might not be cut off from receiving thoſe new ſupplies from abroad, which were now anxiouſly

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expected. However, ere the communication between Leith and Edinburgh was yet cut off by the siege, the Queen-regent, dispirited by the progress of that unhappy train of events in which she had acted an important part, now languishing in her health, and urged by her counsellors to withdraw from the dangers and miseries of the commencing siege; retired into the castle of Edinburgh, and committed the custody of her person to the fidelity of the Lord Erskine, who commanded in that castle, and who, though he refused to surrender it to the French, maintained a strict neutrality, and held it equally out against the leaders of the Congregation *.

Siege of Leith.

The Scottish and English armies in the mean while invested the town of Leith, opened their trenches, and formally began the siege. By land, the besieged town was closely encompassed on all quarters. On the side of the sea, the harbour of Leith was equally blocked up by the English force upon Inch-Keith, and by an English fleet of at least thirty ships. On the thirteenth day of April, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, the besiegers made their first assault with twelve pieces of great artillery and twenty smaller pieces. An unsuccessful sally was, on the second day following, made from the town by the besieged garrison: The skirmish was prolonged for seven hours: The

* Lindsay, p. 326.—328.: Knox, p. 323, &c.: Buchanan, p. 591.

The French ſoldiers led by Martigi, forced their way into the Engliſh trenches, while the Scottiſh and Engliſh warriors, unaware of danger, were unarmed, and were amuſing themſelves with games of chance. Some troops of the Engliſh cavalry advanced to ſuſtain the ſhock of the aſſailants, till the infantry ſhould reſume their arms. The onſet of the French was fierce and powerful, and was urged with the moſt gallant intrepidity. Not leſs ſuſtained by innate valour was the reſiſtance of the Scots and Engliſh. Enraged by the thought that they had been taken by ſurpriſe; they armed themſelves, and ruſhed forward, one after another, into the keeneſt fury of the fight, with inconceivable haſte and impatience. The French were then ſoon beaten: The Engliſh preſſing indignantly after, cut them in pieces, on all ſides, with a terrible ſlaughter; and Martigi, and his ſurviving followers, returned within the town, convinced, that, although the beſiegers might indeed be ſurpriſed, they were not eaſily to be defeated. Convinced, in like manner, by the circumſtances of this partial engagement, that they had not opened the ſiege with ſufficient precautions; the allies now raiſed mounds, at equal diſtances, around the extent of the entrenchments, from which they levelled their artillery; and behind which, it was meant, that their ſoldiers ſhould rally if they ſhould be again at any time ſurpriſed, by

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ſallies from the town. Meanwhile, the Engliſh ſhips ſailing up, without oppoſition, into the very harbour of Leith, diſcharged their great guns with conſiderable effect upon the Frenchmen on the ſhore. On the ſide of the land, the Engliſh batteries, at the ſame time, played almoſt inceſſantly againſt the walls of the town, and its moſt conſpicuous buildings within. St Anthony's church was battered down: The high church, at this time occupied as a magazine, ſhared the ſame fate: Many alſo of the ordinary dwelling-houſes on the eaſtern ſide of the town, were equally deſtroyed. Attempts were then made, with various ſucceſs, to annoy the beſieged by ſudden aſſaults: The mills of Leith were by them pillaged and deſtroyed: The aſſaults were continually renewed, now on this ſide of the town, and now on that, wherever the fortifications ſeemed the weakeſt, or wherever their defenders were the leaſt upon their guard. On the eighth day of May, however, an aſſault made with extraordinary preparations, and in unuſual force, was ſo ſucceſsfully repulſed by the French; that not a few of the boldeſt of the aſſailants were killed; and the beſieged were encouraged to hope, that the Scots and Engliſh would now raiſe the ſiege, and retire in deſpair. But, within the town, the ſcarcity of proviſions was now ſuch as to compel the French to eat the fleſh of their ſlaughtered horſes. A fleet of ten ſhips now approached

proached the mouth of the bay; bringing from France, all those supplies which were wanted by the besieged. The prospect re-animated those who were fainting under the anguish of hope deferred. But, the English ships intercepted their progress: A sea-fight ensued: five of the French vessels became the prizes of the English: the other five with difficulty escaped, but not to bring relief to the garrison in Leith. All hopes of relief seemed thus to be cut off from the French garrison. They renewed their sallies; but without success. Their only prospect of safety now remained in the negotiations of Monluc, the celebrated Bishop of Valence, with the besieging allies, and at the English Court *.

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During this progress of the siege, continual attempts were made to terminate the mutual hostilities by negotiation. Proposals of capitulation were suggested between the besiegers and the besieged. It was anxiously endeavoured to reconcile the Scots once more to their duty to a King and Queen to whom they did not yet refuse that they owed allegiance. Terms of peace were proposed between the Queen of England, the ally of the Scottish reformers, and the King and Queen of France, the pretenders to her royal rights, and the

* Lindsay, p. 329. 330.: Knox, p. 226, &c.: Lesly, p. 523. 524.

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the avowed enemies of her perſon. But, there was, on all ſides, too much exaſperation, and too little honeſty ſuch as might be ingenuouſly truſted, to ſuffer theſe negotiations to be ſincerely proſecuted, as long as the beſieged French might ſtill hope or relief, for while the Scots and Engliſh ſhould not be compelled to abandon the ſiege, by the want of neceſſaries, or by ſome grievous and unforeſeen diſaſter. The diſunion of the Scots and Engliſh, was an event not improbable, and which might have given relief to the beſieged French. But, inſtead of being divided from one another amidſt their co-operations in the ſiege of Leith; the two allied nations were, for this, but ſo much the more cordially attached to each other. They perfected their mutual engagements, during the progreſs of the ſiege, by new and more ſolemn contracts, by which the intereſts of the two nations were, ſtill more cloſely than before, combined into one. While the Queen-regent, in her retirement in the caſtle of Edinburgh, enjoyed yet ſufficient vigour to intereſt her mind in the affairs which were paſſing before her; ſhe earneſtly endeavoured to avert, by negotiation, the ruin of the French; exulted, with tranſports of cruelty and rage, in any tranſient ſucceſs of the ſallies by the beſieged garriſon; and laboured with an anxiety that ſeemed to ſpring alike from her reverence for that religion which ſhe had hitherto

therto profeſſed, and from her concern for the intereſts of her daughter, yet to diſappoint thoſe ambitious views which ſhe dreaded in the leaders of the reformation, and in the Queen of England. In the mean time, however, the ſecret ſappings of inceſſant mental anxiety, the natural decays of advancing age, and the attacks of an incurable hydropical diſtemper, deſtroyed her health, and brought her faſt to the brink of the grave. The approaches of death were made more terrible to her ſoul, by the hopeleſs perplexity in which ſhe ſaw thoſe public affairs involved, which ſhe had been employed to adminiſter. Inviting the Scottiſh nobles from the beſieging army, to viſit her in her laſt hours, ſhe profeſſed her averſion from the cauſe of their new religion and their liberties, to be now ſoftened; conjured them not to caſt off for ever their allegiance to their lawful Sovereign; at once adviſed and intreated them to ſeek for ſuch a peace, as, ſecuring their civil and religious liberties, ſhould at the ſame time diſmiſs both the French and the Engliſh troops for ever out of their country, and ſhould confirm over them the juſt rights and authority of their lawful Queen. Her laſt conciliatory requeſts and exhortations were believed by many among the reformers to have flowed from repentance for the meaſures ſhe had exerciſed againſt them, and from a ſomewhat of a heaven-inſpired conviction of the truth and

Death of Mary of Lorraine.

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excellence of their peculiar doctrines. They accepted her supposed approbation, as a new testimony in favour of the truth and justice of their cause; and in the pride of this triumph over the fears, anxieties, and weakness of a dying woman, half forgave the wrongs which she had formerly inflicted upon them. She died on the next day after this sorrowful interview with the chiefs of the reformation, on the tenth day of June, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty. The siege, however, still went on. The French, before reduced to great extremities, were overwhelmed with new despondency by the news of her death*.

Her character.

The death of Mary of Lorraine was regretted even by her adversaries. In comparison with Cardinal Beaton, with Hamilton Duke of Chattelherault, with the principal French ministers who had been employed under her regency, she had ever been eminently popular among the Scottish nation. Even the most cruel and perfidious of those measures which she had been led to employ, in opposition to the progress of the reformed religion, were not laid to her charge; but imputed to the evil designs of the French Court. The seeming repentance of her last hours, might appear

* Leslæi, Res gestæ, p. 525. 526.: Lindsay, p. 338.; Buchanan, lib. xvi. sub fine.

pear an atonement for all the errors which could be attributed to her. Some were willing to account her insincere in the kind and sorrowful professions of her last interview with the reformers. Others regarded those professions as the genuine declaration of what her sentiments had long been, although the interests and dependencies of politics, had till now with-held her from revealing them. Both very probably judged amiss. It is not likely, that such a woman could be so basely *insincere* in her dying hours. It is still less probable, that she could have been always a secret friend to the reformation of the Roman Catholic religion, and to the separation of the Scottish kingdom from a dependent connection with that of France. The truth seems to be; that, although ever desirous to see the religion in which her youth had been instructed, firmly maintained among the Scots; and to see Scotland united to France in a manner in which it might become fully subservient to all the grand political views of her brothers: yet, she was willing rather to sacrifice the Catholic religion, than her daughter's crown; rather to leave the liberties of the Scots unimpaired, than to drive them into unconquerable and irreconcileable rebellion. So near to death, it is not probable that she would deliberately give herself to exercise that hypocrisy which has been, on the other hand, ascribed to the last

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tranſactions of her dying hours. But, the feebleneſs of death ſo flurries and diſcompoſes the mind; that ſhe might, in this condition, be apt perhaps to conclude from the proſperity of the reformers, and from the ills which had befallen herſelf, while ſhe ſtrove to ſupport the ancient religion of the land: that the hand of Providence was lifted up againſt her, and againſt the meaſures of which ſhe had been made the inſtrument; that there was truth in the doctrines of Knox, although the prejudices of her education, and her habitual modes of thinking, made her unable directly to diſtinguiſh it. But, any incipient conviction of this ſort, is to be regarded as weakneſs, not as illumination. The moſt probable concluſion, therefore, is; that Mary was, in her laſt hours, neither a hypocrite nor a convert to the cauſe of the liberties and the new religion of the Scots. She trembled for the inheritance of her daughter; and in weakneſs, not in clear, vigorous, rational conviction, ſhe was tempted to ſuppoſe innovations ſo ſucceſsful, to be not entirely incompatible with ſanctity and truth. Many other excellencies appear to have adorned her conduct. Although beautiful, and left a widow in the prime of life, ſhe was ſeverely chaſte. Political addreſs ſeems to have been, in her character, united with greater virtue, than commonly accompanies it. It is certain, that her

firſt

firſt endeavours to weaken the popularity of the family of Hamilton, and her early lenity to the diſciples of the reformation, contributed remarkably to advance the cauſe of that religious reform, which the vigorous meaſures of Beaton's adminiſtration, if they had been perſeveringly employed, muſt at leaſt have retarded, might perhaps have, for a great while longer, ſuppreſſed.

Mary's death was a fatal blow to whatever hopes the French might have conceived of an eaſy pacification to be mediated by her means. In the condition of parties at the French Court, and in the ſtate of the public force and of the counſels of France in reſpect to neighbouring nations; the unhappy garriſon in Leith, and the commiſſioners for the management of the French affairs in Britain; found yet other difficulties fatally adverſe to their ſucceſs in extricating themſelves, with honour and advantage, from the diſaſters which now encompaſſed them. Every other meaſure having failed, the ambaſſadors of France, at laſt, addreſſed the Engliſh Court, with a reſolution to accept the beſt terms which Elizabeth could be perſuaded to grant. Plenipotentiaries were mutually appointed from the French and the Engliſh Sovereigns. Their interviews and diſcuſſions adjuſted thoſe matters which were in conteſt between the two

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Courts, in such a manner, that the objects for which the Scots had taken arms, and still more those purposes, in order to the accomplishment of which Elizabeth had supported them by such powerful aid, were, in this pacification, completely effected. Being but the subjects of Francis and Mary, the Scottish Congregation could not be formally parties in the treaty by which these differences were to be finally composed. But, their commissioners vigilantly watched its progress. A petition and remonstrance, presented in their name, and under the sanction of Elizabeth, made known their grievances and their wishes. Their Sovereigns were compelled to grant to them, under the denomination of grace and pardon, concessions and forgiveness, such as were almost to annihilate their own authority. Francis and Mary specifically agreed, that they would no longer produce any claims to the possession of the crown of England. They engaged to acknowledge all the force of Elizabeth's rights to inherit her father's kingdom. They consented to relinquish the titles of King and Queen of England, which they had assumed; and to forbear that use of armorial bearings properly belonging to the English Sovereign, which they had also adopted. They were permitted to withdraw their troops, uninjured, out of Leith. And they engaged to introduce no other foreign troops

Concessions of Francis and Mary.

troops into Scotland at any future time, without the conſent of the Eſtates of the Scottiſh Parliament. Whatever fortifications on the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, excited jealouſies in the minds of the Scots, as being likely to become ſtrongholds from which their liberties might be oppreſſed; or were eſteemed by the Engliſh to be too favourable to any invaſion, which in future wars the Scots might meditate againſt their borders: Theſe, the Sovereigns of Scotland and France agreed in this treaty to eraze. They promiſed to confirm whatever acts, whether for the regulation of the civil conſtitution and government of the kingdom, or for the new ſettlement of its eccleſiaſtical affairs, ſhould be enacted in a Parliament of the Scottiſh Eſtates, which was to be aſſembled, immediately after the final concluſion of this treaty. They engaged, that, in the abſence of Queen Mary out of Scotland, the executive government ſhould, in future, be intruſted to a Council choſen by the Eſtates, in concurrence with the Queen. They ſolemnly bound themſelves henceforth to employ only Scotſmen in the adminiſtration of all the great offices of ſtate. An act of anneſty was to aboliſh the memory of all the late diſſentions. For the injuries which had been inflicted upon the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, compenſation was to be made at the diſcretion of the Eſtates in Parliament.

By

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By theſe, and other conceſſions naturally ſpringing out of theſe, the foreign Sovereigns of Scotland, fully ſatisfied their reſiſting ſubjects, as well as the Engliſh Queen, by whom thoſe ſubjects were protected. But they thus ſtripped the regal office ſo entirely of all its powers and honours, that nothing but anarchy and the total diſſolution of civil order, could be reaſonably expected to enſue. Elizabeth might well be content with the exaction of thoſe moderate terms, which were alone ſtipulated in favour of England. Giving to the reformed religion ſo full a ſuperiority in Scotland; rendering the Scots almoſt civilly independent of their own Sovereigns; and effacing ſo much of the ancient odium between the Scots and the Engliſh: She thus gained what was to herſelf and her ſubjects, much more advantageous than any other conceſſions from the French and the Scots, could have been.

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Scottiſh Parliament.

That parliamentary convention of the Scots, in which Francis and Mary had authoriſed them to meet for the purpoſe of ſettling anew the government of the kingdom; aſſembled at Edinburgh, in the beginning of the month of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty. An occaſion ſo extraordinary brought the freeholders together in this Parliament, in unuſual numbers. The converts to the doctrines of the Reformation,

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Reformation, were, equally in numbers and in influence, greatly prepollent. In the treaty with England, and in the conceſſions already granted by Francis and Mary to their ſubjects, the topic of religion had been paſſed over almoſt in total ſilence. It was now the firſt matter of concern upon which the Scottiſh Parliament directed their attention. The converts of the Reformation, preſented their requeſts in the modeſt form of a ſupplication. The pretended, continual and imperceptible converſion of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jeſus Chriſt; the arrogated powers of the Papal clergy, to diſpenſe, at their pleaſure, the mercy of God to the ſouls of guilty and perhaps unrepenting men; the idea of an intermediate ſtate of purgation, between the probation of earth, and the eternal happineſs of heaven; the vain perſuaſion, that there could be in human works a perfection truly meritorious in the ſight of the God of truth and purity; were, in this ſupplication, zealouſly reprobated, as errors deſerving to be diſmiſſed out of the acknowledged ſyſtem of the national faith. The reſtoration of the primitive diſcipline of the church of Chriſt was ſolemnly demanded. The confiſcation of the revenues of the Papal clergy to better uſes, was earneſtly required. In regard to the ſpiritual objects of their requeſts, the wiſhes of the reformers were readily gratified by the Parliament.

Parliamentary eſtabliſhment of the reformed religion.

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liament. The demands of their ſupplication were converted into a formal *Confeſſion of Faith*; to which the voice of the Parliament quickly gave the full ſanction of law. The biſhops and abbots of the ancient eſtabliſhment, who ſat as members of this Parliament; afraid to provoke the perſecution of thoſe whom they could not ſucceſsfully oppoſe; contented themſelves with refuſing the ſanction of their voices to the innovation which they witneſſed with horror; daring to reſiſt it, neither by any pertinacious violence of oratory, nor by any diſſent recorded in the journals of the Parliament. Only three of the Scottiſh nobles, Athole, Bothwell, and Somerville, imitated the example of the biſhops, in refuſing their aſſent to the new act of Confeſſion. The reformers exulted over the unreſiſting ſubmiſſion of their adverſaries. And the Lord Mariſhal in particular obſerved; that the ſilence with which the Spiritual Lords witneſſed this ſolemn abolition of their faith, afforded to his mind, a new proof of the truth of thoſe doctrines, which they refuſed to embrace. It was more probably a fear for the loſs of their benefices, than any *conſcious* want of arguments for the defence of their faith, which held them ſilent.—In regard to the patrimony of the church; the teachers of the Reformation, were far leſs ſucceſsful, than they had been, in accompliſhing the triumph of its doctrines

doctrines. The complaints, the exhortations, the remonſtrances, the invectives of the preachers, reſpecting this object, were heard with cold indifference, with reſentment, or with hypocritical profeſſions of a feigned concern that nothing could be done to gratify them. The biſhops and abbots were generally permitted to retain their benefices, under ſecret conditions of transferring, by various deeds, a great part of their lands and incomes to thoſe among the leaders in the Reformation, who had power to protect them from other oppreſſions. All the revenues of the church were greedily regarded as plunder which was to reward their zeal, by the knights and nobles whoſe exertions had overthrown the old religion. The Romiſh clergy remained rich, ſilent, and degraded. The Reforming preachers were left to poverty, to glory, and to a power with the people which could do all things but procure a liberal proviſion for their own ſubſiſtence. While they yielded to gratify the avarice of the nobles, by whom they were oppreſſed; the dignified clergy of the ancient church, were not prohibited from calling in their own relations to ſhare their ſpoils. Proud of the ſucceſs of their preaching, Knox and his brethren of the Reformed clergy, patiently acquieſced in what they deemed injury, but knew not how to redreſs. The general concurrence of all parties ſeemed to juſtify and ſanction all the meaſures of the parliament.

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ment. Encouraged by these appearances, they proceeded to act upon their own resolutions, as if these had been already the settled law of the kingdom, without awaiting the final sanction or disapprobation of Francis and Mary. They closed the series of their proceedings, with appointing a commissioner out of their number, to repair to France for the purpose of presenting their recorded resolutions, and obtaining to them the confirmation of their authority; and with nominating, at the same time, ambassadors to visit the Court of their protectress Elisabeth, and diligently to cultivate her favour, perhaps more necessary than ever, to support them in those bold measures by which they had encroached on the prerogatives of the Scottish crown*.

Reception of Sandilands at the Court of France.

Sandilands of Calder, Lord St John, was the commissioner appointed to repair, to present the acts of this parliament for the sanction of Francis and Mary, at the French Court. This commission required a man of a bold spirit, and a steady unbending character. Of concessions so humiliating, to which their ambassadors had agreed, rather as temporary expedients to save their troops, than from any persuasion that they could be ultimately conducive to the interest and the honour of the French Crown; it was not to be supposed, that the Gallic Sovereigns would cordially or hastily approve.

* Knox: Buchanan, &c.

approve. The danger was now over: The troops were ſafe. To find means for evading the final ratification of the late treaty, was naturally the next object, to which the Guiſes would turn their care. But, the ardour of the Congregation, and the feebleneſs of their party in Scotland, had anticipated whatever they might have begun to prepare. The Scottiſh reformers had interpreted the words of the treaty in a manner the moſt favourable to their own deſigns and wiſhes; had enacted laws, where their ſovereigns expected from them only humble petitions. News from Scotland, ſo contrary to their wiſhes, would have obtained to any meſſenger, but an ungracious reception from Francis and Mary. Brought by Sandilands, one of the zealous and active among the adverſaries of *their* religion and power; they could not but be heard with enhanced diſlike. The approbation which he requeſted to the acts of the Scottiſh Parliament, was indignantly refuſed. From the Guiſes and the other courtiers, he met with every mark of inſolent hate. Uncertain what meaſures they ſhould take, the French adminiſtration obeyed in the firſt inſtance, only the emotions of diſappointment, rage, and abhorrence *.

At the Court of Elizabeth, the ambaſſadors of

* Knox, &c.

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the Scottiſh Parliament were leſs ungraciouſly received. The Earls of Morton and Glencairn, with that profound and refining politician, Maitland of Lethington, were the perſons to whom the affairs of this embaſſy had been intruſted. Their thanks for her aid and protection; their accounts of thoſe bold meaſures by which they had eſtabliſhed Preſbyterianiſm on the ruins of the ancient national church; their proffers in the name of the people of Scotland, to remain for ever after this, ſteadily attached to the intereſts of Elizabeth, and of the reformed religion; did not fail to prove extremely acceptable to the Engliſh Queen and her miniſters. But, either the zeal of the reforming preachers, or the refining policy of Maitland, ſuggeſted a propoſal which Elizabeth could not hear with equal approbation. Afraid, leſt Francis and Mary ſhould refuſe to confirm their late parliamentary acts; and willing rather to withdraw themſelves from the allegiance of their lawful, hereditary Sovereign, than to ſubmit to the Gallic yoke, or to ſacrifice their new religious faith; ſome of the leaders among the Scottiſh reformers, had already thought of a perpetual Proteſtant union with England. The ambition, the weakneſs of character, and the royal deſcent of the Hamiltons, made them to be employed as the tools in every great project of the party, of which they were now nominally at the head

Negotiations at the Engliſh Court.

head. In conſequence of theſe circumſtances, the ambaſſadors to the Court of England had been enjoined to propoſe a matrimonial alliance between the Engliſh Queen, and the Earl of Arran, as the only meaſure which could permanently ſecure the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment among the Scots. Elizabeth, unwilling to ſhare her authority with a huſband, but never averſe from the flattery of courtſhip, declined the alliance which ſeemed to be too zealouſly and officiouſly propoſed, but without expreſſing any ſcorn of the merits or pretenſions of Arran. Her final anſwer to all the compliments and requeſts of the Scottiſh ambaſſadors, was ſuch as to encourage them with the hope that her protection might ſtill be continued to foſter that religious eſtabliſhment, which, but for her aid, could not yet have exiſted. Her intereſts, indeed, bound her to ſupport the Proteſtant religion in Scotland, and to ſupport the Scots againſt France, not leſs ſtrongly than if Scotland had been already a part of her own dominions *.

While the Court of France were perhaps meditating ſome new deſigns againſt the Scots; while Elizabeth contented herſelf to watch the affairs of France and of Scotland, with that vigilance which was neceſſary to enable her to interpoſe in due time, if there ſhould ariſe any future neceſſity

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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necessity for her interposition; while the Scottish nation were at once fearful and resolute; dreading the indignation and hostility of their own Sovereigns; yet, willing to exclude Mary from her birth-right, rather than sacrifice their religion and liberties: An event happened, by which all these political passions and arrangements were to be suddenly altered. Francis the Second, the husband of Mary, the Scottish Queen, suddenly died in early youth: And by his death, the interests of the Scottish and the Gallic Crowns were again separated out of that connexion in which they had been, for a time, fixed by his marriage: while that influence of the Guises, the uncles of Mary, which had enabled them, during the reign of her husband, to sway the whole powers of the French sceptre, at their pleasure, was by the same event, for ever destroyed. Young Francis left no children to succeed on his throne. His younger brother, Charles the Ninth, became, therefore, now King of France: And that influence which had been possessed by Mary, during the reign of her husband, fell now back into the hands of Catherine di Medici, the widow of Henry the Second, the mother of Francis and Charles. Mary saw herself thus reduced to the humility almost of a private condition, in a Court in which she had lately reigned with more than the authority of a Sovereign. The new King and his ministers, were to adopt

Consequences of the death of Francis the Second.

adopt a policy as widely different as poſſible, from that which had been purſued under the adminiſtration of the Guiſes. No events could have been, in this juncture, more favourable to the views of the Queen of England or to the wiſhes and intereſts of thoſe who had, in Scotland, eſtabliſhed the reformed religion, and daringly thrown off almoſt all the bonds of lawful allegiance. It might ſeem to their narrow and ſuperſtitious minds, as if Divine Providence had in this manner ſuddenly interfered, with an extraordinary exertion of its power, to diſarm and confound their enemies, and to guard and ſave the newly eſtabliſhed church. Relieved from many of their fears, concerning the interpoſition of France, to reſtore the ancient religion, and to impoſe upon their necks the yoke of political tyranny; the reformers now proceeded with earneſtneſs and activity, in inſtituting new forms of eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, inſtead of thoſe which they had aboliſhed. Superintendants were appointed, to exerciſe ſomewhat of the authority of the Popiſh biſhops. Miniſters were appointed to preach and conduct the public ordinances of religion in parochial diſtricts. Another unſucceſsful endeavour was made, to perſuade the nobles to reſign to ſpiritual uſes, all the confiſcated revenues of the ancient church *.

CHAPTER

* Knox: Leſly: Lindſay, &c.

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Chapter VII.

Continuation of the Hiſtory from the æra of the Death of Francis II. Mary's firſt Huſband, to the Period of Mary's Flight out of Scotland, into England.

Felicity in which Mary had lived at the French Court.

THE widowed Queen of the Scots, had ſpent in France, that period of her childhood and youth, during which the ſtrongeſt local attachments are uſually formed. France had been to her a ſcene of almoſt unmixed joy and happineſs. Around her, all had been tenderneſs, reſpect, and adulation. Before her, none but proſpects of augmented grandeur and growing felicity had been ſuffered to ariſe. Her youth, her beauty, the exalted greatneſs of her fortune, the ſplendid luxury and elegance which then adorned the Court of France, were adapted to repreſent to her, human life, only as a path of perpetual pleaſure, every where adorned with verdure and with flowers. The preſence of her uncles had hitherto guarded her from any of thoſe early follies, of which the conſequences are ready to blaſt with miſery, even the opening bloom of youth. The fond affection of her young huſband, and his enraptured ſubmiſſion to the

the captivating influence of her charms, had been ſuch as might well excite mutual love in her heart, or at leaſt ſentiments of ſatisfaction and of kindneſs to ſupply its place.

Unpleaſing proſpect of her future life.

Amid theſe joys, the death of her young huſband, gave her the firſt foretaſte of that bitter miſery of which ſhe was afterwards to drink to the very dregs. Its conſequences were more afflictive to her mind, than the mournful event itſelf. In a Court in which ſhe had triumphed, ſhe could not ſubmit to the humiliation of living in privacy, and in ſubjection to the power of a haughty woman, who would delight to offer her continual indignities. In that critical ſtate, too, into which the affairs of her native kingdom had been reduced, it ſeemed to her uncles, that nothing leſs than her own preſence would be ſufficient to retain the Scots within the bounds of their allegiance, and to prevent them from transferring to Elizabeth, all but the name of their duty and affection, as ſubjects. She retired, amid the firſt ſorrows of her widowhood, to the city of Rheims; and there awaited the determination of her uncles, and of fortune, in regard to the future diſpoſition of her affairs, and the deſtination of her life. To return to a rude country, deſtitute of the elegancies and accommodations of life, ſuch as Scotland; to bid a long

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farewell to the happy land of France; to meet the rugged manners, and the superstitious prejudices of the Presbyterian Scots; to contend with fierceness and with artifice, in the government of her kingdom; were prospects to which a young and admired woman, like Mary, educated as she had been, could not look forward without painful expectation, and even horror. Yet, better depart to Scotland, than endure the insolence of Catherine di Medici, better meet the difficulty of contest with the passions and prejudices of her subjects, than suffer her Scottish kingdom to be reft for ever from her *.

While Mary was yet in suspence, in regard to her immediate return to Scotland; both the Catholic and the Presbyterian parties of her subjects, deputed, each, a distinguished person from among themselves, to invite her home. Lord James Stuart, her natural brother, and the person who had in truth been for some time the principal leader in the reformation, was the ambassador of the reformers. John Lesly, Vicar-General of the diocese of Aberdeen, was sent by the Papal clergy, and those who still favoured the interests of France. Lesly, outstripping, in his journey, the activity of Stuart, was the first to present himself in the presence of his royal mistress. Coming from those whom

* Lesłæi Res Gestæ; Brantome, &c.

whom Mary and all her French friends and counſellors were the moſt inclined to favour, Leſly did not fail to meet ſuch a reception as could not but encourage him to declare to his royal miſtreſs, all the counſels and the wiſhes of thoſe from whom he had been ſent. Diſtruſt of her brother and all the Proteſtant party; confidence in the Romiſh clergy; a reſolution to begin her actual reign in Scotland, with meaſures of violence, which ſhould, by the ſudden energy with which they might be employed, once more undo all that the reformers had ſacrilegiouſly and rebelliouſly done; were the ſentiments with which Leſly ſtrove to inſpire his Queen, and the principles of conduct which he was earneſt to make her adopt. In other times, his repreſentations and his perſuaſions might have provedſucceſsful. But, the princes of the houſe of Guiſe, could not now aſſiſt Mary with effectual aid from France. While Elizabeth was at hand to aſſiſt the party of the reformers; it was not to be hoped, that they ſhould be eaſily overpowered and humbled by the unaſſiſted ſtrength of the Scottiſh Papal party. That enterpriſe and thoſe ſchemes which the zeal of Leſly had propoſed, would be wildly raſh and dangerous, without ſurer means to carry them into execution. When, therefore, Stuart, on the day after Leſly had been admitted into his Sovereign's preſence, ſolicited alſo an audience; he was received by her with marks of favour, ſtill

Invitations and counſels from the two parties in Scotland, to their Queen.

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more flattering than thoſe which had been ſhewn to Leſly. His advices were earneſtly liſtened to, and his counſels were requeſted by his ſiſter, with an air which ſeemed to beſpeak her readineſs to follow them. Widely different from thoſe of Leſly, they recommended to Mary to ſanction the acts of that Parliament, by whoſe zeal the Preſbyterian religion had been already eſtabliſhed in Scotland; to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth in all its parts; to return to Scotland, without French guards or mercenaries, and without any other reſolutions in reſpect to her future government, but thoſe of intruſting herſelf with ready confidence to the fond allegiance of her Proteſtant ſubjects, and of winning their willing obedience, by yielding to all their wiſhes. All the moſt eminent of thoſe French officers and eccleſiaſtics, who had ſerved in Scotland, under the regency of Mary's mother, concurred in repreſenting theſe counſels of Stuart, as the only ones which the preſent ſtate of her affairs would permit her to adopt. Leſly was therefore ſoon treated, at leaſt in public, with a coolneſs which ſeemed to intimate, that the Queen's government would not be regulated by the counſels of his party, nor accommodated to their intereſts: It was reſolved, that Mary, upon her return to Scotland, ſhould chuſe her miniſters from among the leaders of the Reformation, and ſhould make them and their friends, the only oſtenſible objects of her favour.

favour. Theſe were painful meaſures to be adopted by thoſe who had lately with ſo much earneſtneſs, ſtriven to maintain the Catholic religion, and the influence of France, among the Scots. But, even theſe meaſures were to be adopted, rather than ſuffer Elizabeth and her partiſans—perhaps to extrude Mary for ever, from the throne of her fathers *.

Nor would Elizabeth ſuffer theſe events to paſs unnoticed. Soon after the death of Francis the Second, ſhe commanded Throgmorton, her ambaſſador at the Court of France, to ſolicit with renewed earneſtneſs, that his widowed Queen ſhould now ratify that treaty of Edinburgh, which had not yet received the final ſanction of the French Court. She had again diſpatched ambaſſadors to Edinburgh, who ſhould foment the ancient diſcontents of the Scots, and ſhould, if poſſible, hinder them from reſtoring to their own Sovereign that fond loyalty with which it was natural for them to regard her, if they could be aſſured that ſhe was not to bring them under ſervitude to a foreign yoke. But, while the kindneſs with which Mary liſtened to the repreſentations of her Proteſtant ſubjects, prevented them from entering with too much earneſtneſs into the intereſts and views of Elizabeth: The firmneſs and the art with which

Views of Elizabeth.

* Knox, &c.

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which ſhe was taught to reſiſt the ſolicitations of Throgmorton, ſtill held in ſuſpence that object of the ratification of the treaty which Elizabeth was the moſt ſolicitous to accompliſh. Ratifying the treaty, Mary would diveſt herſelf of rights, which ſhe had learned to hold particularly dear; which, even while unenforced, greatly exalted her perſonal conſequence in the eyes of all Europe; which might be, ſooner or later, by the operation of various not improbable events, receive full effect, ſo as to degrade Elizabeth from the Engliſh throne. On the other hand, it was for her life, for her crown, for the primary intereſts of the reformed religion, that Elizabeth contended in all the meaſures of warfare, and all the arts of policy, which ſhe employed againſt Mary. Should Mary return into the Britiſh iſland, without renouncing her claims to the Engliſh crown; ſhe might henceforth be regarded by the Roman Catholics in Britain, and throughout Europe, as the only lawful Sovereign of both the Scottiſh and the Engliſh dominions. Conſpiracy or open warfare would be inceſſantly employed againſt Elizabeth's life, and royal ſtate. Both in Scotland and in England, the reformed religion might yet be for ever overthrown. Their reſpective intereſts thus held Mary and Elizabeth at variance. Little female rivalries increaſed their mutual diſlike. While Mary ſteadily refuſed to gratify Elizabeth's wiſhes, by the final

final ratification of the late treaty; Elizabeth, on the other hand, denied to Mary ſuch a paſſport as ſhe required by her ambaſſador, to protect the ſhips in which ſhe was to ſail to Scotland, from being moleſted on the paſſage by the Engliſh ſhips of war. This act of Elizabeth, juſtified indeed by the unſettled tenor of the intercourſe between the two Queens, but ſavouring more of petty malignity, than of uſeful and wiſe policy, tended greatly to exaſperate Mary's ſpirit. She declared her ſcorn of the inſult; while ſhe juſtified, under plauſible pretexts, her own delay to gratify her rival. But, the ſpirit of the policy which ſhe had adopted, was fitted to win even the Scottiſh Preſbyterians from Elizabeth's intereſts: And by the ſtrength and ſwiftneſs of the ſhips in which ſhe was to ſail, ſhe might eaſily eſcape the endeavours of the Engliſh to intercept her at ſea *.

Mary's voyage to Scotland.

However reluctant, Mary was now to depart for her own kingdom. The whole Court of France accompanied her from Paris, as far as to St Germain's. She was eſcorted to Calais, by her uncles, the Princes of the houſe of Guiſe, and by a numerous and ſplendid train of the Gallic nobles. Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, being admitted, at Abbeville, to a laſt interview with her, again urged the ratification of the important

* Knox; Keith; Maitland, &c.

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important treaty, but declined to obtain from his miſtreſs, on other terms, the paſſport which Mary demanded. From Calais, ſhe ſailed, ſorrowful in bidding for ever farewel to France, and not free from fears that ſhe might, in her paſſage, be made the captive of the Engliſh fleet. A ſufficient train of French and of Scottiſh knights and ladies, and among theſe, the Marquis D'Elbœuf, her uncle, the Duke D'Aumale, Grand Prior of France, in the ſame degree related to her, with the Sieur de Damville, the heir of the houſe of Montmorency, were the companions and attendants of her voyage. Eſcaping, under the cover of a fog that fortunately aroſe, the vigilance of the Engliſh ſquadron, which was at ſea, to intercept her; the gallies in which ſhe with her train were conveyed, within a few days after they had ſet ſail from Calais, arrived ſafe in the harbour of Leith. The Earl of Eglinton alone, with the veſſel on board of which he ſailed, was intercepted by the Engliſh. But, ſince Mary, the prize that was expected, had eſcaped; Eglinton's veſſel was hardly ſooner ſeized, than ſet at liberty. From Leith, after the delay of a few hours, Mary, with her train, quickly proceeded to the palace of Holyrood-houſe *.

The poverty of her country, did not fail, at this firſt aſpect, to ſtrike her young mind, accuſtomed to

* Brantome: Knox, &c.

to far different ſcenes, with ſurpriſe and concern. But, the nobles, and her ſubjects of all ranks, aſſembled to receive her, with a fond alacrity, and an ardour of congratulation, which ſhe could not ſee, without extreme ſatisfaction. Having received the Lord James Stuart with favour; and having, at leaſt in appearance, adopted the counſels which were by him ſuggeſted, in the name of the Proteſtant party: She had thus excited in the minds of the reformers, hopes; that ſhe herſelf, now returned out of a land of idolatry, might become the convert of their faith; and that her government would be, at once, favourable to the new religion, and not prone to reſume thoſe powers which the nobles, the burgeſſes, and the preachers, had recently uſurped from the Crown: hopes by which her arrival was made, for the moment, acceptable to them, above almoſt any other event that could have occurred. While ſhe ſtill profeſſed the Roman Catholic religion; while her attendants made the ſame profeſſion; while ſhe enjoyed the favour of the ſacred Court of Rome; while there was reaſon to ſuppoſe that only the neceſſities of her affairs made her courteous to the reformers; ſhe did not forfeit that popularity which in her abſence ſhe had hitherto enjoyed among that part of her ſubjects, who were ſtill devoted to their ancient religion, and to the alliance of France. All ranks, all orders, all parties, thus joyfully

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agreed to bid her welcome. Festive shows and entertainments were lavishly prepared, to celebrate her return. Her form and manners were such as to win the admiration and good will of all who approached her. There was an eager contest between the Catholic and the Presbyterian party, who should gain the first place in her favour, and acquire the direction in her councils. The Earl of Huntley, who had, some time since, seceded from the party of the reformers, was the most eminent nobleman at the head of the Catholic party: the Lord James Stuart was undeniably the most illustrious and the ablest among the votaries of the Reformation. But, while Huntley and his friends were altogether slighted at Court, or were, at the best, treated only with a respect and kindness which conferred no real power; Stuart was suffered to dictate all the first measures of Mary's government; to recommend those who were to be distinguished by her favour; and to bring her dislike and neglect upon those who were disagreeable to him. Now wise by misfortune, the feebler party of the Roman Catholics, did not yet dare to resent with warm indignation, that disregard, which, in disappointment of their sanguine expectations, Mary had hitherto shewn them. But, it was otherwise with the fierce Presbyterians. Proud of their success in propagating their peculiar tenets in religion; and

and arrogant in the conſcious poſſeſſion of great power in the kingdom: the preachers and nobles of the reformation were diſpoſed to think, that only incorrigible blindneſs or obſtinacy could prevent all who heard the truths of the goſpel, which *they believed*, from being converted to embrace it, as ſoon as it was declared to them. Even amidſt the feſtivities in which they expreſſed their joy in Mary's return; they contrived to addreſs to her eyes and ears, frequent hints of the horrible wickedneſs of that idolatrous worſhip which ſhe was ſtill accuſtomed to exerciſe. Their hopes and fears turned, with inexpreſſible anxiety, upon the conſideration, whether Mary was to remain a Papiſt, or to become the convert of Preſbyterianiſm. And, it was natural, that they ſhould earneſtly practiſe thoſe rude arts which, alone, they knew, in order to accompliſh an object that engaged their whole concern. Her brother, Lord James Stuart, although the leader of the Reformation, was, however, too well acquainted with what the proprieties and decencies of life required, not to agree with readineſs, that his ſiſter and Queen, with her foreign attendants, ſhould enjoy the privilege of celebrating thoſe rites of the Catholic religion in the obſervance of which ſhe had been educated. But, Knox and the other preachers, Lord Lindſay, and ſome other gentlemen of Fife, of extraordinary

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zeal, could not without indignation and horror, witneſs the celebration of that maſs which the endeavours of their zeal had aboliſhed. They were, with difficulty with-held from interrupting the ſervice, when the Queen's chapel was firſt opened for this purpoſe. Seeing Mary thus far retain her attachment for the old religion, they began to dread, that ſhe was yet to overturn all that they had done in the behalf of reform. They began already to raiſe againſt her thoſe outcries which were afterwards more ſignally to blaſt her fame, and to embitter and ſhorten her life *.

Political ſtate of Europe.

Thus arrived in her native kingdom; in the midſt of her own ſubjects; as yet by the advice of her maternal uncles, acting in compliance with the wiſhes of thoſe who compoſed the majority among her nobles, ſimply becauſe they were a majority; in the nineteenth year of her age, and therefore without experienced ſkill in the arts of government, but of a maturity of underſtanding, which might now ſucceſsfully apply to acquire that ſkill: Mary found it neceſſary to conſider all the relations of her kingdom, to foreign nations, and to acquaint herſelf with the reſpective views, and powers of the ſurrounding princes and ſtates, that ſhe might be able to regulate her intercourſe with them, by a clear political intelligence.

Muscovy,

* Knox: Lindſay: Leſly: Buchanan.

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Muscovy, although no longer ſeated beyond the limits of the maritime and commercial adventures, at leaſt of the Engliſh, was not yet comprehended within the ſphere of the ordinary political intercourſe of the nations in the middle and ſouthern parts of Europe. The leſs remote regions of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, were now ſubject to Proteſtant monarchs. On that part of Germany, which was in its ſituation the moſt northern, the vicinity of theſe kingdoms of the north, might enable their monarchs to exerciſe ſome ſhare of political influence. But, they could not yet enter with any great efficacy into the political ſyſtem of Europe. They were poor; and their dominions were neither extenſive nor populous. They poſſeſſed no powerful maritime force; and were little capable of any enterpriſe which might either advance the proſperity of the Scots, or alarm them with the fears of ruin. The Orkney iſles had been long ſince ceded to Scotland: And even againſt them there came no expeditions from the continent, ſuch as could threaten to diſturb Mary's future government. Iceland, removed to a conſiderable diſtance north-weſt, from the moſt northern of the Scottiſh iſlets, was occupied by a Norwegian colony, and was ſubject to the Daniſh Crown; but was too diſtant, and too miſerably poor, to afford to its inhabitants the means of becoming either formidable enemies,

Muscovy.

Denmark and Sweden.

or

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or valuable friends, to the moſt northern and weſtern inhabitants of the iſles belonging to the Scots.

Germany.

The wide territory of Germany was nearer than the kingdoms of the north; had been long comprehended within the ſphere of the ordinary political intercourſe of the European nations; was poſſeſſed in dominion by an Emperor, and a multitude of Princes, who had, all the chief of them, a conſiderable influence, directly or indirectly, on the relations and intereſts of that great political ſyſtem, with which the Queen of the Scots was, of neceſſity, to be much connected. Charles the Fifth was the greateſt of the Emperors, who had for a long ſpace of time preſided over the German empire. Yet, even he had failed to recover to the Emperors, that full authority which was poſſeſſed by the ſurrounding feudal ſovereigns. During his reign, had ariſen that ſpirit of religious innovation, by which there was to be introduced into this empire, a new principle of political union, as of political oppoſition, by which all Germany was to be long rent with diſſentions and wars. Germany now contained both Protestant and Papal ſtates. Theſe were counterpoiſed againſt one another, in a balance in which, but for foreign influence and aid, the Papal

pal powers might have eaſily prevailed. In this dangerous ſituation, the Protestants improved, multiplied, and drew cloſer the ties of the political intercourſe of the nations of all Europe, by the efforts which they made to maintain their own political and religious independence. The ſpirit of their religion made them at the ſame time zealous, without regard of worldly motives, to win new converts to embrace its ſaving truths. Germany, not leſs than England, had contributed to propagate the doctrines of the Reformation among the Scots. The ties of ſpiritual brotherhood, as well as the concerns of policy, would naturally continue to intereſt the German Protestants in all the circumſtances of the future fate of the Reformation in Scotland. Charles the Fifth, lately ſovereign of an immenſely wide extent of dominion, was now no more. He had failed in the attempt to obtain to his ſon Philip, the ſucceſſion to the German Empire. The interior Austrian dominions, and the Imperial Throne, had been obtained by the family of his brother Ferdinand. Hence, the ſucceſſors of Charles the Fifth, poſſeſſed dominions leſs extenſive, and powers more divided than his had been. Spain and the German empire were no longer united under one Sovereign. But, the Princes of the houſe of Auſtria, ſtill maintained between them a ſort of family-

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family-alliance. They uſually co-operated with one common purpoſe. They never ſtrongly nor directly counteracted each other's views. They were regarded as forming together one great political power in Europe, whoſe intereſts were oppoſed to thoſe of France and its allies. Of the German Emperor the exertions might be confined in a great meaſure within the interior limits of Germany. But thoſe of Philip were vaſt and gigantic, extending from one hemiſphere to another, and directed to ſway the fate of all Europe.

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France.

France, ſo powerful under Francis the Firſt, had ſince his reign perhaps continued to loſe the equipoiſe in the ſcale, againſt Germany and Spain. The battle of St Quintin, and the captivity of the great Montmorency, compelled Henry the Second of France to conclude with his rival Philip a diſadvantageous peace. The extravagant projects of the houſe of Guiſe, the weakneſs of an infant-reign, domeſtic diſſentions at the Court and throughout the kingdom; had almoſt ever ſince held the French monarchy in a condition in which it could not ſucceſsfully purſue its former ſplendid enterpriſes for foreign conqueſt, and for aggrandiſement in the political ſyſtem of Europe. The ſpirit of reformation in religion had pervaded France, as well the

the ſurrounding countries; had gained many converts to the doctrines of the reformers; and was beginning already to become a cauſe of political faction and diſcord in that great kingdom. Not ſcrupling to ſeek the alliance of the German Proteſtants, in oppoſition to the Houſe of Auſtria; the French monarchs had by this meaſure, inconſiderately made themſelves the protectors of that which they accounted hereſy. That hereſy had, of conſequence, ſpread itſelf, on this account, the more ſucceſsfully within their own dominions. But, the houſe of Guiſe eſpecially, ardently attached themſelves to the intereſts of the ancient Catholic religion. With the maintenance of its eſtabliſhments in all their ancient grandeur and importance, they connected views of lofty ambition for themſelves and for the French monarchy. Their views had been interrupted. But, Catherine di Medici was, almoſt equally with them, inclined to promote the papal intereſts: And the parties of Catherine and of the Guiſes, divided in regard to almoſt every other object, were, in relation to this, however, united. Mary, taught, from her early infancy, to adopt the maxims of her uncles, and to follow implicitly their counſels; had come into Scotland with reſolutions to act upon a plan of conduct which they had marked out for her. However ſhe might, for a time, accommodate the ſpirit of her mea-

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ſures to the wiſhes of the Preſbyterians, and even to the ſeeming intereſts of Engliſh policy; it was not to be conceived, that ſhe would not ſeize the firſt favourable opportunity for the purpoſe of once more reconciling Scotland to the French intereſts, and of re-eſtabliſhing in her kingdom, that venerable religion which ſhe herſelf profeſſed.

Spain.

Spain poſſeſſed dominions conterminous to France, on the North and on the South. In Italy, the Spaniſh monarch was eminently powerful. Vaſt was the extent of his territories, in the iſlands and on the continent of the recently diſcovered American hemiſphere. At ſea, Philip the Second, was at this time, more potent than any contemporary monarch or ſtate. His ſuperſtitious piety devoted him, with a blind zeal, to the will of Rome, and the intereſts of the Roman-Catholic religion. Inheriting the dominions of Charles the Fifth, he had inherited alſo that rivalſhip of France, which Charles had long ſplendidly maintained. Poſſeſſing almoſt deſpotic power in Spain, he was naturally to exerciſe an authority equally deſpotic, over the people of his Flemiſh dominions: And his zealous oppoſition to the progreſs of the reformation, and the gloomy deſpotiſm of his temper; were now, within no long time, to involve him in a conteſt with his

his own ſubjects in the Netherlands; which was to check his ambition of foreign conqueſts, and at laſt to deprive the Spaniſh monarchy of one fair portion of its hereditary dominions. Having been the huſband of the late Queen Mary of England; he ſtill regretted the alliance and the hopes of which her death had deprived him. He was deſirous to have won Elizabeth, after Mary, to his bed. In regard to the intereſts of the young Queen of the Scots, he could not but be deſirous; *firſt*, that Scotland and England ſhould, if poſſible, be ſnatched from the hands of the reformers, and reſtored into the boſom of the Catholic church; and *then*, that, in the political ſyſtem of Europe, they ſhould be added to the weight of the ſcale of Spain, not to that of France. If injured and driven from France, by her mother-in-law, Catherine di Medici; it was perhaps natural, that young Mary of Scotland ſhould cultivate the alliance of the Spaniſh ſovereign, in preference to that of the Court of France.

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Portugal.

Portugal was, as yet, great by the military genius of its nobles and its monarch, and ſtill more by its poſſeſſions in India, and by the conſtant influx of wealth which it derived from its Aſiatic conqueſts and its adventurous commerce. But, it acted no important part in the political intercourſe of the

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great nations in the middle parts of Europe. Ever ſince the days of Iſabella and Ferdinand, the riſing grandeur of the Spaniſh monarchy, the addition of a new hemiſphere to the Spaniſh dominions, and the increaſing bulk, opulence, and activity of Spaniſh commerce, had continued to outſhine and obſcure that momentary ſplendour with which the ſucceſsful navigation of the Portugueſe, had once inveſted them. Philip of Spain now vigilantly watched every change in the political ſtate of Portugal, in the hope probably of one day uniting it by ſucceſſion or by conqueſt, to his own extenſive dominions. Except as importing foreign materials of luxury into Europe, as influencing the policy of the Spaniſh ſovereign, or as cheriſhed on account of zealous orthodoxy by the Pope; the Portugueſe nation and their monarch could not, at this time, attract, in any particular degree, the notice of the Scots.

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Italy.

Italy; although commercial opulence and activity had now diffuſed themſelves, in a conſiderable degree, northward; although the reformation had taught almoſt half the ſubject world to ſhake off the yoke of Rome; was, nevertheleſs, ſtill ſignally eminent among the countries of Europe. Venice and Genoa, from among its maritime ſtates, were ſtill enriched by their trade with

with the nations inhabiting the iſles and all the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea. The ſucceſsful navigation of the Portugueſe, with the later, and more extenſive diſcoveries of the Spaniards, had indeed withdrawn out of the hands of the merchant-ſtates of Italy, ſome of the richeſt ſources of their wealth. But, the great *capitals*, which the Italian traders ſtill enjoyed; the manufactures of ſilks, of woollen ſtuffs, of many other articles for the accommodation of life, which they had introduced from the Eaſt, and eſtabliſhed in Italy; the fine arts which they cultivated with unrivalled ſkill and genius; the conſtant influx of ſtrangers from all other parts of the world, towards the eccleſiaſtical capital of Europe; ſtill held all the mercantile ſtates of Italy in a condition, as to traffic, induſtry, and the profits ariſing from them, conſiderably opulent and proſperous. Florence, ſtill flouriſhed under the government of the Medici; a houſe, which for a time, added the Papal tiara to the Ducal crown. Rome, the eccleſiaſtical miſtreſs of the Chriſtian world, was ſtill ſtupendouſly great; notwithſtanding all the loſſes ſhe had ſuſtained by what Luther, Calvin, and their followers withdrew from under her Papal dominion. The riſe of the Jesuits, a new order of regular clergy, was ſoon to accompliſh for her aggrandiſement, almoſt more than the German reformers had done to humble her.

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Pius

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Pius the Fourth, of the Houſe of Medici, was now ſupreme pontiff. Although allied to Mary's unkind mother-in-law; he was not inſenſible, that it was of great importance, earneſtly to cultivate the favour of the Queen of the Scots. By her exertions, and by the influence of her rights, alone, could the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion in Great Britain, be, in its preſent circumſtances, accompliſhed. Mary was ſtill the faithful votary of Rome. She was ſtill willing to keep up an intercourſe with that Court. Her connexion with it, was to prove one great ſource of all the miſeries of her future life. Naples, a ſeparate kingdom, in pretended feudal ſubjection to Rome; Savoy bounding the Italian territories on the ſide of the Alps; all the interior principalities and communities of Italy; were in circumſtances, in which they could have no direct influence on the political ſituation of the Scots, or on the fortunes of their young Queen.

Switzerland.

Contiguous to Italy, to France, to Germany, were ſituated the ſtates of Switzerland, which had long ſince emancipated themſelves from the Auſtrian and from every other foreign yoke. The freedom which reigned among them, had given an early admiſſion to the doctrines of the reformation. Some of the moſt eminent of the firſt

firſt reformers, belonged to Switzerland. At GENEVA, eſpecially; which although not properly one of the *Swiſs* ſtates, was, however, connected with them in the cloſeſt alliance; the illuſtrious CALVIN, one of the greateſt lawyers and theologians of the age, had eſtabliſhed a more republican form of church-government, than that approved by Luther; and had procured the reception of a ſimpler, and perhaps a purer code of religious belief. From GENEVA and SWITZERLAND, perhaps even more than from Germany or England, had that light been effuſed, by which the Scottiſh reformers accounted the gloom of Popiſh ignorance to have been diſpelled from among them. *John Knox* had been the diſciple and the fellow-labourer of CALVIN. That form of church-government which the latter had marked out at GENEVA, as the moſt conformable to the plan and order of the Primitive church; was, by the latter, about to be eſtabliſhed as the Preſbyterian diſcipline of the Church of Scotland. SWITZERLAND was indeed not wholly PROTESTANT; but was divided between ſtates, PROTESTANT and POPISH, in a manner not favourable to the ancient ſtrength and union of the SWISS CANTONS. But, it was neceſſary for all parties in Scotland, to turn their views frequently towards Switzerland; for out of that land the Scottiſh reformers might in the caſe of extreme peril and diſtreſs, expect

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expect to receive more or leſs of conſolation and relief; out of it, might come means to diſappoint whatever meaſures even the Scottiſh ſovereign ſhould, with all her power, employ, to reſtore over her ſubjects, the reign of Popery.

Netherlands.

More nearly adjacent than Switzerland, lay the provinces of the Netherlands; bordering, at their weſtern extremities, on the German ocean; comprehending that territory, which was known to the ancient Romans, as the ſeat of the Belgæ. Having been, in the original diſtribution of theſe countries among the ſubduers of the Roman empire, acquired by different feudal Lords; they had found afterwards a ſimilar fate, with the other provinces of Italy, France, and Germany. They were at length gained by marriage to the houſe of Auſtria, as the inheritance of the grandmother of Charles the Fifth. From Charles, they were inherited by his ſon Philip. They made at preſent a part of the Spaniſh dominions. But, the ſpirit of reformation in religion, and an indignant oppoſition to the conſtant endeavours by which Philip ſtrove to deſtroy their ancient feudal liberties; had already begun to excite a jealouſy and a mutual diſtruſt between the inhabitants of the Netherlands, and their Sovereign. They felt the ſame ſpirit which inflamed the minds of the Scots,

Scots. But, their monarch being far more powerful to reſtrain their turbulence, than was the Scottiſh Sovereign; they could not ſo quickly, nor with ſo ſlight an effort, throw off his yoke. They were neighbours, with whom the Scots had frequent commercial intercourſe. It was from Flanders, that very many of the refinements of manners, of the improvements in the arts, and of the means of opulence, were firſt introduced into Scotland. This vicinity of theſe northern dominions of Philip the Second, had a tendency to occaſion a political connexion between the Scottiſh and the Spaniſh Courts, which would have been otherwiſe leſs neceſſary. While King Philip held with a firm hand, his ſupreme ſway over the Flemings; the contiguity of his dominions muſt have been favourable to the natural views and intereſts of the Scottiſh Queen; for he was the zealous protector of the Catholic religion, and the determined enemy of Elizabeth of England. But, intercourſe with his Flemish ſubjects tended to confirm and to foment the *heretical* and the rebellious humours of the Scots; while the Flemings were alſo, in their turn, prompted to rebellion by Scottiſh example.

England was much more nearly connected with Scotland, and by many more political rela-

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tions, than any of the ſtates or kingdoms on the continent of Europe. Its vicinity, encouragement, and aid, had materially contributed to the ſucceſſes of the reformation among the Scots; and had, alone, enabled the Scots to prevent themſelves from being ſubjugated under the deſpotic yoke of France. As a woman, the Engliſh Queen

England.

was naturally the rival of Mary: as holding a crown, to which Mary made pretenſions, the former became to the latter, of neceſſity, in a great degree, an enemy: as being a Proteſtant, while Mary was a Papiſt; Elizabeth found in this diſtinction alſo, a new occaſion for hating her ſiſter-Queen: as being more a favourite than Mary herſelf, with Mary's Proteſtant ſubjects; the Queen of England was hence, unavoidably, to be an object at leaſt of the political diſlike of the Queen of the Scots: And on the other hand, ſince the Papiſt ſubjects of Elizabeth were willing to regard Mary as being more rightfully entitled to their allegiance; here was a new reaſon to cheriſh in the boſom of the Queen of England, continual fear and hatred in regard to the Queen of the Scots. As to the kingdom which ſhe had hopes, one day to inherit; as to a ſcene where were ſome of her beſt friends, and her bittereſt enemies; had Mary reaſon to look with inceſſant anxiety towards England. The policy of the Engliſh Court, held the nation half at variance with all the Roman Catholic

ſtates

ſtates and kingdoms, and ſet Elizabeth at the head of the Proteſtant intereſt throughout Europe. The objects of this policy were, to hold Elizabeth on her throne, and to maintain in England, the eſtabliſhed Proteſtant religion. They were directly adverſe to the objects of Mary's moſt confidential adviſers; who deſired to raiſe Mary alone to the immediate ſovereignty of all Britain, and to reſtore, throughout the iſland, the Roman Catholic worſhip in all its ancient force and ſplendour.

Ireland.

IRELAND, a ſubject principality of the Engliſh crown, was, at this time, ſtill in a ſtate in which it added little to the political or military ſtrength of England. Its inhabitants ſtill profeſſed the Roman Catholic religion. They conſiſted partly of Engliſh coloniſts; in part of the poſterity of thoſe wanderers from the eaſtern ſhores of the Mediterranean ſea, who were perhaps the firſt occupiers of the iſle,—of Celts originally from Britain and allied to the Celtic Scots, who compoſed the great body of that which was accounted the genuine Iriſh nation,—of Norſemen the poſterity of thoſe famous maritime rovers, who had once poſſeſſed in ſplendid ſovereignty, the faireſt parts of the eaſtern coaſts of Ireland. The adventures of Earl Strongbow and the Fitzgeralds,

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the atchievements of King John, the final diſcomfiture of the famous enterprizes of the gallant Bruces; had eſtabliſhed the Engliſh in Ireland, had maintained and extended their conqueſts, had given them ſomewhat more than the nominal dominion of the whole iſle. But, the Engliſh were few in compariſon with the numbers of the native Iriſh. The latter had become, in their manners, continually more ſavage, ever ſince their ſubjection to the Engliſh power. Remembrance of that ancient conſanguinity which was acknowledged between them and the Scots; the common hatred with which both Scots and Iriſh had been hitherto accuſtomed to regard the Engliſh; the community of the language of the Highland Scots with that of the native Iriſh; the attachment which the Iriſh ſtill fondly cheriſhed among themſelves, towards the Roman Catholic religion; were all likely to give to Mary ſome advantages towards diſturbing the tranquillity of her rival Elizabeth, by intrigues with the native and ancient inhabitants of Ireland.

Policy of Mary's opening reign.

In this manner did it become Mary and her confidential counſellors, to conſider her relations, as Sovereign of Scotland, to the other kingdoms and ſtates of Europe, at the time when ſhe firſt aſſumed the reins of the Scottiſh government, into

into her own hands. For a while, ſhe continued to hold her Court at Edinburgh. Her Gallic attendants yet remained around her. The Scottiſh nobles, with emulous gallantry and obſequiouſneſs, contended to win the favour of their young and beauteous Queen. Loading with new favours, and treating with increaſing confidence, her natural brother; ſhe began to win him in ſome degree, from his former ardent attachment to the Preſbyterian cauſe. Poſſeſſing almoſt the confidence of her Proteſtant ſubjects, yet, not having loſt the favour of the Papiſts; ſhe was thus for a moment, almoſt more conſiderable in the iſle, than her couſin Elizabeth. Following the advice of her moſt politic counſellors; ſhe eluded all Elizabeth's demands, for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, by offering that ratification on the condition that it ſhould be accompanied, on the part of Elizabeth, by a correſpondent recognition by Elizabeth herſelf, and by the Engliſh Parliament, of Mary's right, to ſucceed after her couſin on the Engliſh throne. Amidſt theſe circumſtances, and while ſhe obſerved this tenor of conduct, there could occur little to diſturb the felicity of Mary's life or reign. Yet, ſome perplexing and diſagreeable incidents were to ariſe, of courſe, from time to time. *Chatellard*, a gallant French knight, of Scottiſh extraction, faſcinated by Mary's beauty, and tempted by the enchanting

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enchanting openneſs and gaiety of her manners; made an attempt upon her chaſtity, which due reſpect for her own honour, compelled her, however reluctantly, to puniſh with death. The *Hamiltons*; as being after Mary herſelf, the next heirs to the Scottiſh crown; as having deſerted her intereſts, in order to ſet themſelves at the head of the reformation; as having lately aſpired to an union with Elizabeth, on which Mary could not look with a favourable eye; were of all thoſe who reſorted to her Court, perhaps the leaſt acceptable. Young Arran in theſe circumſtances, aſpired in vain to the honour of her hand in marriage: And the weakneſs of his own underſtanding, with the ſordid parſimony of his father, which refuſed him an equipage, and means of expence, becoming his rank; were adapted to increaſe that indifference and diſlike with which he would, even otherwiſe, have been regarded at Mary's Court. He who had, with difficulty, eſcaped as a fugitive from the deſigns of her uncles at the Court of France; was, even on this account alone, indeed, not likely to become with her an object of favour. On the leaders of the reformation were conferred almoſt all the oſtenſible offices of truſt and dignity; yet, without the entire excluſion of the moſt eminent nobles of the Catholic party. But, Huntley, of this party far the moſt eminent and powerful chief, and with Huntley, all the moſt zealous

zealous of thoſe who ſhared the ſame counſels, and the ſame religious paſſions; ſoon began to nouriſh in their breaſts, a riſing indignation againſt the pride and the power of the Lord James Stuart, and againſt that ſyſtem which ſeemed to indicate, that Mary was gradually relinquiſhing the cauſe of the Catholic religion, and of that moſt loyal part of her ſubjects, which ſtill adhered to its intereſts. To the contentions natural to a number of fierce and unpoliſhed nobles, when aſſembled together in the ſame city and Court, there were added colliſions the moſt violent of party-views and concerns, as well as of the wiſhes and demands of perſonal avarice and ambition. Feuds and rencounters took place in the ſtreets; conſpiracies were formed and feigned; the clamours of the Papiſts roſe loud on the one ſide, thoſe of the Proteſtants, on the other. Mary held as yet that doubtful tenor of policy, which was alone prudent in her ſituation. But, the pretenſions of rivals for her favour, the jealouſies of the two great parties of her ſubjects, the anxious fickle humour of human nature, made it impoſſible, that ſhe ſhould long perſevere in this policy with effects ſufficiently happy. It was in regard to Elizabeth alone, that Mary's preſent policy proved completely ſucceſsful. Never, either before or after this period, does Mary appear to have

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have acted in a manner that made her more truly formidable to the Engliſh Queen*.

It was, at length, time that Mary, imitating that conduct which the ſpirit of the feudal policy required of every Sovereign, and which her own father and other immediate anceſtors had not failed to obſerve; ſhould make a juſticiary progreſs throughout her dominions; and ſhould at once gratify her loyal ſubjects by her preſence, and reduce the turbulent to peaceful order and ſubmiſſion by the diſplay of that power which would neceſſarily attend her ſteps. On the ſouthern borders, all was unuſually peaceful and quiet; for the recent friendſhip with England, had contributed greatly to ſuppreſs the wonted turbulence of the borders. But, almoſt ever ſince the commencement of the reformation, the ſtate of the Highlands had been neglected. In the eaſtern Highlands, almoſt all the powers of ſovereignty had been either expreſsly delegated to Huntley, or elſe had been for a long while uſurped by him. The art of the Lord James Stuart, now Earl of Marre, unceaſingly directed to overthrow thoſe who were at once his perſonal enemies, and the adverſaries of his party; the riſing diſſatisfaction of the Catholic faction, and eſpecially of Huntley, the moſt potent of their chiefs; the alliance which Huntley had contracted with

Mary's viſit to the Northern Counties, and the diſturbances excited by the Gordons.

* Buchanan: Leſly: Knox, &c.

with the Hamiltons, by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon to the daughter of the Duke of Chatterellerault; all concurred, about this time, to make the Queen regard that potent Earl with increaſing diſlike, and even to kindle in her mind, reſentful jealouſies of his loyalty. Theſe were ſufficient reaſons to induce her to direct her progreſs, under Marre's guidance, towards that part of her kingdom in which Huntley had been ſo long permitted to reign without controul. Marre was to be enfeoffed in his newly acquired earldom: And there was, therefore, in his wiſh to obtain a ready ſurrender of this fief, from the ſtewards of the crown, an additional motive to make him deſirous of conducting his Sovereign's progreſs into thoſe parts. As yet, there had been no meaſure openly threatened againſt Huntley, which could, reaſonably, make him dread the approach of his Queen. As yet, there had been nothing openly and avowedly committed by Huntley, in oppoſition to the royal authority, which could juſtify any attempt by the Queen and her miniſters, to deſtroy his life, or to take away his eſtate. But, between Huntley and Marre, mortal hatreds neceſſarily and ſecretly prevailed. While Huntley ſurvived in his preſent greatneſs; the Roman Catholic party would ſtill be ſufficiently powerful to hinder Mary from remaining abſolutely at the mercy of the reformers. Huntley had, from the firſt, aſpired to

Oppoſition of the intereſts of the Earls of Marre and Huntley.

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that place of power and confidence near the Queen, which Marre enjoyed. Marre durſt not reſolve to deſert the party of the reformers, which he had headed, and to give himſelf wholly up to thoſe deſigns which could alone be entirely acceptable to the Queen and to her uncles in France. The jealous vigilance of Knox, would not much longer allow him to act a double part between the two parties. As ſoon as he ſhould make himſelf known to Mary, as the unalterable votary of the intereſts of the reformation, he might be removed from her councils to make room for Huntley. Amidſt ſuch preparations; while theſe two rival chiefs were mutually in this temper, in regard to one another; while Mary was about to ſet out on her deſtined progreſs; John Gordon the Second ſon of Huntley, aſpiring to the Queen's hand, yet affronting her royal authority; afforded to Marre, a juſt occaſion to ſend him into confinement. Not brooking a ſlight and temporary puniſhment, which his miſconduct had provoked; impatient of being detained behind, while the Queen whom he loved, was gone to viſit his father's domains; the young man made his eſcape. Ere Mary could advance ſo far northwards, he had rejoined his father; had inflamed the Earl's hatred againſt Marre, to open, undiſguiſed rage; and had aſſiſted in making preparations for the Queen's reception, of which the ſplendour might do him due honour in her eyes, while

while the force ſhould be ſufficient to prove dangerous to Marre. This conduct of young Gordon, being an act of open rebellion, preſented to Marre, new means for inflaming in his ſiſter's mind, that indignation againſt the Gordons and their party, which their own imprudence and their adverſary's artifices had already begun to excite *.

Auguſt 1562.

In this temper of mind, were the two Earls of Huntley and of Marre, in reſpect to one another; and ſuch were the angry ſentiments which the Queen had begun to conceive towards the former; when ſhe went upon this progreſs through the North-Eaſt Highlands. Marre, Morton, Maitland of Lethington, and others from among the leaders of the reformers, compoſed her train. When ſhe approached near to the limits of the territory of Huntley; his Counteſs reſpectfully came to meet her on her way; endeavoured, with the moſt inſinuating addreſs, to ſoothe her reſentment; intreated pardon for the indiſcretions of her ſecond ſon; preſumed to expreſs her hopes, that the Queen would yet accept him for her huſband; and earneſtly invited Mary to direct her journey to the Caſtle of Strathbogie, where magnificent preparations were already made for her

Mary's progreſs to the North.

* Lindſay, 333: Buchanan, l. xiv. p. 611: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſſes, p. 283: Knox, 318: Leſlæi, l. x. p. 542: Spottiſwood, 184: 185: Keith, 223—30.

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reception. Mary gave, at firſt, but an ungracious hearing to the flatteries, the apologies, and the intreaties of the Counteſs of Huntley. Yet, when this lady promiſed that her ſon ſhould again deliver himſelf into confinement, and ſubmit to the Queen's pleaſure; Mary's anger was, in ſpite of the practices of thoſe about her, in a great meaſure, appeaſed; and ſhe refuſed not to honour the Caſtle of Strathbogie, with her preſence, as ſhe ſhould advance farther on her journey. But, ſcarcely had Sir John Gordon, in compliance with the Queen's demand, and his mother's promiſe, ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of the meſſengers, and departed with them, for Stirling Caſtle, there to remain in ward; when new fears, anxieties, and jealouſies aroſe in his mind; he eſcaped from his guards; and haſtening to his own caſtle of Findlater, impatiently ſummoned his own vaſſals to attend him in arms. Perhaps, indeed, he might be, from the firſt, inſincere in his laſt ſubmiſſion to the Queen's will; and might ſurrender himſelf into cuſtody, merely for the purpoſe of drawing her and her miniſters within his father's power; while it was always his intention to break from the cuſtody of his guards, as ſoon as Mary ſhould have advanced too far to retire, when alarmed by the news of his eſcape. But, whatever his deſigns, and thoſe of his father; they were, in the firſt inſtance, quickly diſappointed.

diſappointed. Mary heard the news of his eſcape, before ſhe had entered the Caſtle of Strathbogie, or had put herſelf and her attendants, irrevocably within the power of Huntley. Enraged herſelf at this inſolent act of diſobedience, which ſeemed to make a jeſt of her authority; and warned by her miniſters, who, every ſtep they advanced, began to ſee more clearly, that they were entangling themſelves within the toils of a mortal foe: She now refuſed to enter the Caſtle of Strathbogie; and turning her journey by a different way, proceeded directly towards the royal Caſtle of Inverneſs. In the firſt moments of their alarm and diſappointment, the Gordons raſhly adopted meaſures of bold rebellion, ſuch as could neither be palliated nor forgiven. And, indeed, if their ſecret purpoſes were, to murder Marre and Mary's other miniſters; to make herſelf their priſoner, and to compel her to become the bride of Sir John Gordon: no wonder that they ſhould be irritated to wild indiſcretion, by the fruſtration of proſpects ſo bold and ſo criminal. The Caſtle of Inverneſs had been for ſome time held by Huntley, in lieutenancy from the crown: And his deputy and kinſman, Alexander Gordon, in obedience probably to Huntley's command, moſt certainly in regard to his intereſts; refuſed to receive the Queen into that caſtle, when ſhe preſented herſelf with her attendants, at the gates. An inſult like this,

exceeded

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exceeded the mad audacity of all that the Gordons had hitherto done. Lodgings were with difficulty provided for Mary, among the huts of the adjacent town. And, in the fear of what the rebel Gordons might farther dare to attempt, ſome veſſels were procured and kept in readineſs at the mouth of the river, to favour the Queen's eſcape, if that ſhould become neceſſary. But Huntley, with his ſons, and their partizans, ſuffered the critical moment to paſs unimproved. Having once paſſed the bounds of duty; they ought in prudence, to have puſhed on their rebellion with impetuous activity, to its final ſucceſs. While they delayed to ſeize the Queen's perſon, and cut off thoſe of their enemies who attended her; Marre endowed with talents much fitter for an occaſion of difficulty and danger; quickly aſſembled the ſurrounding loyal clans; ſeduced from Huntley's intereſts, ſeveral others in which he had truſted; and ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a force ſufficient to make the Governor of the Caſtle of Inverneſs, reſpect his ſummons, or pay the forfeit of diſobedience. The caſtle was ſurrendered: The Governor was beheaded: The Queen, although thus far ſucceſsful, yet not ſufficiently miſtreſs of the country, and therefore in theſe parts inſecure; returned in haſte to Aberdeen. Huntley and his adherents now confounded to find all their hopes thus fruſtrated, and the guilt of rebellion unadviſedly

Huntley's rebellion.

unadviſedly dragged upon their heads; made haſte to diſavow their guilty purpoſes, to implore the pardon of their errors, and once more, if poſſible, to reconcile themſelves to their injured and offended Sovereign. Pardon was not abſolutely denied them. But, it was determined, to deprive the haughty and turbulent Earl of the means of hereafter threatening his Sovereign's ſafety, or reſiſting her authority. Already had the grant of the earldom of Marre from the crown to a ſubject, appeared to narrow the ſphere of Huntley's power. That earldom, now reſigned into the hands of Mary, by its laſt poſſeſſor; was at his requeſt beſtowed on his father-in-law, the Lord Erſkine: while to compenſate her brother for the reſignation; ſhe was perſuaded to grant to him the Earldom of Moray, of which Huntley was for this end deprived. The news of this forfeiture and grant, convinced Huntley, that he was undone. Hitherto, it might be, that he had acted in the perſuaſion; that his plans, as being no leſs uſeful to the cauſe of the Roman-Catholic religion, than to the private intereſts of his own houſe; muſt be perfectly acceptable to the Queen, as ſoon as their ſucceſs ſhould enable him to explain them to her. He now ſaw the failure of his firſt meaſures, about to accompliſh the overthrow of his houſe; without affording him the means of convincing Mary; that by ruining

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ing him, ſhe would weaken her own hands, and actually endanger her own ruin. His adverſary, now Earl of Moray, with the cabal who ſhared his counſels, eaſily ſaw and ſeized all the advantages which Huntley's ambiguous ſituation, thoſe acts of imprudence into which it betrayed him, and the unexperienced ingenuouſneſs of Mary's mind, neceſſarily afforded, to enable them to purſue the blow which they had already ſtruck, to the entire ruin of the houſe of Gordon, and of the Catholic party. Huntley had loſt his laſt opportunity againſt them, immediately after what paſſed at Inverneſs. The new grant of the Earldom of Moray, was deſtined at once to weaken and to irritate. Huntley and his ſons, now deſperate, refuſed in arms, the ſurrender of thoſe ſtrong places which were required, in order to the enfeoffment of the new-made Earl of Moray, in the domains of his Earldom. Thoſe parties of troops which had been deſpatched to demand and to receive the neceſſary ſurrenders, were diſperſed or cut in pieces by the armed vaſſals of Huntley. Muſtering all that military force which their poſſeſſions enabled them in the circumſtances of feodiſm, to command; the Gordons impetuouſly haſtened in martial order, towards Aberdeen; where Mary, with her miniſters, at this time, awaited the final execution of thoſe meaſures, which had been commanded againſt thoſe

theſe powerful rebels. Moray, whoſe genius was ſufficiently equal to the difficulties of the occaſion, had already ſummoned all the loyal clans in theſe parts, to aſſemble in arms, to protect the perſon and ſupport the authority of their Sovereign. A numerous hoſt, but diſorderly, imperfectly armed, and of ſuſpected faith, ſoon attended the royal banner. The Earl of Moray advanced from Aberdeen, to meet the army of Huntley, on their march. While Huntley halted at Corrichie, the royal forces came up. He ſaw their approach with anxiety, doubtfulneſs, and fear; but ſoon encouraged himſelf with the aſſurance, that the Forbeſes, Hays, and Leſlies, who appeared in the van-guard of Moray's troops, would betray the army in which they ſerved; and then, without farther delay, ſave only to ſupplicate, in a ſhort prayer, the favour of Heaven, marched onwards to the fight. The recreant Forbeſes, Hays, and Leſlies, did not diſappoint his hopes. At the firſt aſſault, they recoiled back in diſorder. The troops of Huntley followed hard after, till their onſet was more firmly met by the men of Angus and Fife, the zealous votaries of the Reformation, who compoſed the beſt ſtrength of Moray's army. In this extremity of danger, Maitland of Lethington, in a ſtrain of pious and deprecatory exhortation, endeavoured to animate the forces around him; the Maſter of Lindſay, and the *Laird* of Pittarrow, with protended ſpears,

Battle of Corrichie.

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oppoſed the diſorder of the fleeing Forbeſes, Hays, and Leſlies, from breaking in upon their ranks;—and being imitated in this act by all their followers and fellow-ſoldiers,—were not fruſtrated in their purpoſe. Huntley's troops, armed only with broad ſwords, could not reſiſt the onſet of the Lowland ſpearmen; could not break in upon their order; and wanting miſſile weapons, could not annoy them from a diſtance. About four and twenty of the rebel ſoldiers were ſlain, when the reſt turned their backs, and fled. The treacherous clans, who had, by their flight, almoſt betrayed the royal army, now returned, and eagerly joined the purſuit. In this purſuit, about an hundred were ſlain. The Earl of Huntley himſelf, being overgrown, and corpulent, fell down in the attempt to eſcape, and although unwounded, died of anguiſh, fatigue, and probably abſolute ſuffocation. More than an hundred of his followers, and among theſe, his ſons John and Adam Gordon, were made priſoners. John ſoon after died on the ſcaffold: Adam, on account of the immaturity of his years, was ſpared. The Lord Gordon, Huntley's eldeſt ſon, and ſon-in-law to the Duke of Chatelherault, was likewiſe tried and convicted as guilty of treaſon, but was ſpared from execution, by the lenity of the Queen, and only detained in confinement. Huntley's dead body was conveyed

to

to Edinburgh, and there kept unburied, at the Abbey of the Haly-rude, till after his parliamentary condemnation for treaſon, and the formal forfeiture of all his honours and eſtates. The other accomplices in the guilt of the Gordons, were puniſhed alſo, in proportion to their guilt, their conſequence in the rebellion, and their want of protectors among the friends and creatures of Moray and the other leaders in the Reformation *.

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Such was the termination of that conteſt of ambition, which had been keenly proſecuted between the Earls of Huntley and Moray, ever ſince the death of the late Queen-Regent. In this manner did the Proteſtant party, acting under the directions of Maitland, Morton, and Moray, cut off, as it were, the right-arm from the party of the Catholics, by accompliſhing the fall of the Houſe of Huntley. Could the Earl of Huntley have oppoſed his rival with deeper art, and with more, at leaſt of exterior moderation; had Mary from the firſt openly eſpouſed the Catholic cauſe, or had ſhe been at this time more mature in political experience and addreſs: In either of theſe caſes, the fate of Huntley might perhaps have been averted. But, the oppoſition between the Popiſh and the Preſbyterian cauſe,

Reflections.

* Knox, 320. 321: Buchanan, 620. 621: Leſlie, p. 552.

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the perſonal rivalry between the leaders of the two parties, were, from the firſt, unavoidable. Although no particular conſpiracy appears to have been previouſly formed on either ſide; yet, there exiſted a mutual diſpoſition to ſeize, in general, every occaſion for reciprocal humiliation and injury. The irritations, the opportunities of actual conteſt, were ſufficient to do all the reſt: And they did it. In theſe, Moray, with the name and authority of the Queen, as well as of the Preſbyterian party, on his ſide, was more than a match for all the power and the headlong rage of the Gordons. But, Mary was, in this inſtance, made an inſtrument in the hands of her brother and his partizans, for reducing the Catholic party to a degree of weakneſs, highly prejudicial to her own true intereſts. The preachers, and all the zealous reformers, naturally triumphed in the fall of Huntley, as the Iſraelites of old were wont to indulge a malignant joy in contemplating the death of ſome hoſtile and idolatrous king.

Negotiations with England.

After theſe tranſactions in the north, Mary, with her Court, returned to Edinburgh. The correſpondence with the Engliſh Court was ſtill continued with the ſame profeſſions, artifices, and inſincerity as before. Mary propoſed to meet Elizabeth at York, in the hopes, that a perſonal interview

interview, between herſelf and her couſin, might eaſily adjuſt all thoſe differences which were only prolonged and exaſperated by the intervention of ambaſſadors. But, Elizabeth, probably unwilling to appear in the ſame Court, with a Queen whoſe youth, beauty, and winning manners, far excelled her own; and aware, that the rivalry between herſelf and the Queen of the Scots, aroſe too much from their relative political ſituations, to be extinguiſhed by any means which ſhould be employed in a perſonal interview; declined, under ſpecious pretexts, to meet Mary at York; and only continued to renew advices and profeſſions of friendſhip, without altering her ſentiments toward her couſin, or entering anew into any ſpecific amicable engagement *.

Meaſures of the Reformers.

The Reforming clergy, about the ſame period, began, once more to haraſs Mary and her miniſters, by their complaints, exhortations, and remonſtrances. Knox and the other preachers did not, like the Earl of Moray, derive extraordinary advantages of private intereſt from the late tranſactions of Mary's government. Having raiſed Moray into power, having ſtill ſupported him by all their influence and credit; they now, however, expected him and his friends in the adminiſtration, to complete the work which had been

* Melville's Memoirs, &c.

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been so far happily advanced, to effect the conversion of the Queen, to destroy the Catholic party, and to assign for the support of the preachers and the establishments of the new religion, at least a reasonable and adequate portion of the property which had been possessed by the former church. While Huntley lived; and while the Catholic party were powerful in such a leader; the chiefs of the Protestants had still a thousand pretexts arising from these considerations; under which they could excuse themselves to the zealots of their party, for not urging matters too hastily to any dangerous extremity. By the fall of Huntley, those pretexts were removed. The Catholics were now so much weakened, that they could make no formidable opposition to whatever measures should be thought farther necessary to give full stability to the Reformation. Why then delay,—was the language of Knox to Moray and the other ministers,—to accomplish all those objects, for the sake of which their party had hitherto supported their power? Moray, Morton, and Maitland, on the other hand, knew, that any new forwardness of zeal, on their part, in favour of the Reformation; might deprive them at once of whatever favour they possessed with the Queen. They had enriched themselves; they had arisen to power: And they desired not to pursue the views of their party,

party, farther than might be neceſſary to retain that party in their intereſts, and to maintain themſelves in power. Knox and his diſintereſted brethren were enraged to find their hopes from Moray diſappointed. Knox ſcornfully renounced the Earl's friendſhip. A new covenant was deviſed, and ſolemnly ſubſcribed by a very numerous aſſembly of the Proteſtants at Ayr. Moray and his aſſociates were alarmed; and took ſome meaſures to ſatisfy their friends. Yet, at the ſubſequent meeting of the Parliament, no meaſures adequate to give ſatisfaction to the friends of religion, were adopted. It appeared evident, that, inſtead of gaining Mary to the Proteſtant cauſe, thoſe men, in whom the reformers had truſted, were betraying that cauſe, for the ſake of baſer ends. The preachers appealed to the people. Knox, from the pulpit, by his letters, in the preſence of the Queen herſelf, exerciſed his zeal with vehemence ſo ſteady, ſo intrepid, ſo ardent and perſevering; that he ſeems to have, at laſt, triumphed over the artifices and the tergiverſation of Moray, Morton, and Maitland; and to have compelled them openly to act for the Reformation, in diſregard of the ſecret wiſhes of the Queen *.

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While

* Knox: Buchanan: Spottiſwood: Leſly, *ſub fine*: Lindſay, &c.

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Proposals of marriage, made to Mary.

While these things passed, various foreign Princes began to send embassies to ask the lovely Queen of the Scots in marriage. It was wished by the Princes of the House of Austria, the uncle and the cousins of Philip of Spain, to obtain for the Archduke, the third son of the Emperor Ferdinand, a royal bride, who could give, with her hand, the independent establishment of a kingdom to her husband, and who could strengthen the House of Austria, by a new alliance. Catherine di Medici would gladly have persuaded her daughter-in-law, to become the wife of her third son, although the widow of his elder brother. Philip of Spain asked her in marriage, for his eldest son, the unfortunate Carlos, who was afterwards put to death by his father's command. The Protestant Princes were also disposed to aspire to obtain in marriage, so lovely a Queen, whose subjects were now also Protestants. Elizabeth and the English nation, since Mary was to be regarded as the apparent heir to the English crown, were naturally led to look with an attentive eye towards any matrimonial connection in which she might prepare to engage. Mary's own subjects of Scotland, were ready to controul her humour and affections, and to demand, that she should marry none but a man likely to favour the Protestant religion, and the interests of that reforming party which had now the chief direction of

of her government. The voice of nature whiſpered to her own heart, that her youth and beauty were not deſtined for obſtinate celibacy. Her uncles of the Houſe of Guiſe were, above all, to be conſulted: And ſhe might believe, that they would not fail to diſpoſe of her hand, in a manner the moſt advantageous for her, the moſt favourable to their own ambition, and the moſt ſerviceable to the endangered intereſts of the Catholic religion *.

Difficulties which ſtood in the way of Mary's marriage.

Beautiful, young, great, and opulent; theſe advantages made it only ſo much the more difficult for Mary to make a proper choice among her ſuitors. So many were intereſted to direct her marriage, in a manner which might be conſiſtent with their intereſts, that ſhe could not be left at liberty, to obey at once, the wiſhes of her own heart. Abroad, the Catholics had the greateſt influence to regulate the matrimonial alliance of this young Queen. Within the iſland, however, the Proteſtants held her almoſt entirely within their power; and were not likely to ſuffer her to decide for herſelf in a caſe of ſo much importance. The deſires of her own ambition, and perhaps alſo of her affections, would have led her to prefer the alliance of the Prince of Spain:

* Additions aux Memoires de Caſtelnau: Melvil, 69: Forbes's State Papers: Keith, 239, &c.

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But, Philip did not earneſtly urge this negotiation. While ſo many marriages were propoſed, Mary and her uncles were thus held in indeciſion, and prevented from accepting any one. The Catholic pretenders to her hand, defeated the views and endeavours of one another: Elizabeth and the Preſbyterian miniſters of the Scottiſh government, prevented the young Queen from coming to any determination in favour of the Catholic party. No Proteſtant ſuitor offered his addreſſes, whom perſonal as well as political conſiderations were not ready to make Mary reject with ſcorn: But, even they who had not influence to accompliſh the ſucceſs of their own views, were often ſufficiently able to thwart the wiſhes of others. It at laſt appeared, that Elizabeth and the Preſbyterians in the two kingdoms of Scotland and England, had ſuch authority over Mary's fate, as muſt render it *impoſſible* for her to give her hand to any of the Catholic Princes, on the continent. Becauſe ſhe was apparent heireſs to the Engliſh crown; becauſe it was the intereſt of Elizabeth, that her lovely couſin ſhould not become the bride of any powerful foreign Prince, whoſe alliance might enable her, without delay, to proſecute thoſe rights which all the Papiſts zealouſly aſcribed to her; becauſe none but a Proteſtant and humble alliance appeared likely to ſecure to her Preſbyterian ſubjects, the ſtability

of

of that Reformation which they had accompliſhed, and the ſecurity of thoſe privileges deſtructive of the powers of the Crown, which they had uſurped. Mary was therefore doomed to live a life of celibacy, to *ſteal* a *marriage*, or to accept from Elizabeth, and from the hands of the faction of Moray and of Knox, a huſband who ſhould perhaps be odious to her. Yet, the wiſhes and the political intereſts of all Europe, called loudly upon her, to enter into a change of condition which might give a royal progeny to the hopes of the ſubjects of both the Scottiſh and the Engliſh Crowns. Her particular ſituation in theſe reſpects, had thus the effect of procuring to Mary a ſort of political courtſhip, from all quarters, that did not fail to be, in a conſiderable degree flattering to a young, gay, and beautiful woman*.

Amidst theſe difficulties, and this diſtant courtſhip, the idea of a humbler marriage, which might at leaſt give diſſatisfaction to no party, was, by ſome means, ſuggeſted to Mary. Margaret, the ſiſter of Henry the Eighth of England, the Queen of James the Fourth of Scotland, the grandmother of Mary, had born to her ſecond huſband, the turbulent and ambitious Earl of Angus, an only daughter, Lady

* Melville's Memoirs: Buchanan: Knox, &c.

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Margaret Douglas. This lady, the niece of Henry the Eighth, was brought up at his Court, and was, in the flower of her age, given in marriage to the Earl of Lennox, himself in the next degree, after the Hamiltons, allied to the Scottish Crown, and at that time an exile, on account of his unsuccessful exertions to promote the English interests. In consequence of this marriage, the children of Lennox and Lady Margaret Douglas were, next after the House of Hamilton, the collateral heirs to the Scottish Crown; next after Mary herself, collateral heirs to the crown of England. The eldest son of their marriage, was Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley; a young nobleman who now wanted some years of being equal in age to Mary, was uncommonly handsome and graceful in his person, was accomplished in every manly and courtly exercise, and at this time resided in the English Court. He was Mary's cousin. Being handsome, it was probable, that he might win her affections. A marriage with him would add no formidable power to the authority of the Scottish Crown. It would combine into one the rights of two rival families. He was a Protestant; and the Scottish Presbyterians might therefore expect, that he would become the faithful friend of their interests. But, being young, he had as yet formed no obstinate habits of opinion

The idea of a marriage with Lord Darnley, proposed.

opinion or action; and Mary and her Roman-Catholic friends, might therefore expect him to become, without difficulty, a convert to the ancient faith, and to all the views of policy which they connected with this faith. Since the Earl and Countess of Lennox, his parents, and he himself, were the subjects of Elizabeth; she was not likely to be adverse to a courtship, of which it seemed, that she might, at her pleasure, controul the progress. Every thing therefore concurred to invite young Darnley to become a suitor for the affections of the Scottish Queen, and to make Mary expect his addresses with a previous inclination to favour them *.

Elizabeth offers Dudley for a husband to Mary.

But, Elizabeth's art or caprice had, in the mean time, provided another candidate for Mary's favour. Lord Robert Dudley, one of the handsomest men in her own Court, was, at this time, a widower, and was believed to be regarded by Elizabeth herself, with much of the partiality of love. To try, therefore, whether the English nation would patiently see Dudley exalted to share her own throne; to give this favourite new dignity, by naming him as not unworthy of becoming the husband of a Queen; to make a shew of the lofty disinterestedness of her own attachment to him; to vex and irritate Mary's spirit, by

* Buchanan: Knox, &c.

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by offering, as worthy of her love, a perſon whom ſhe could hardly be expected to regard otherwiſe than with diſdain; to engage the Scottiſh Queen, in a vain negotiation which ſhould have the effect to delay her marriage; or for whatever other reaſon; Elizabeth propoſed her own favourite Dudley, as a man whom ſhe would with pleaſure ſee the huſband of her beautiful couſin. After ſome burſting expreſſions of indignation, when the propoſal was firſt communicated to her; Mary was at length induced, by the perſuaſions of her courtiers, to open a negotiation for the purpoſe of determining concerning the merits of this proffered marriage. Had ſhe broken off all intercourſe with Elizabeth, on account of a propoſal ſo contemptuous; the Queen of England and the Proteſtants, would have drawn from this act, no inconſiderable political advantages againſt Mary's rights. While ſhe ſtill kept up a ſort of amicable intercourſe with England; her own Preſbyterian ſubjects were well pleaſed; and ſhe found means of carrying on a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh Papiſts, which was highly uſeful towards ſtrengthening her pretenſions to the inheritance of the Engliſh crown. It was ſtill eaſy to elude Elizabeth's inſulting offer, in the ſame manner in which the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh had been eluded,—by demanding reciprocal conditions, which Elizabeth would

would not chuſe to grant. Dudley, now created Earl of Leiceſter, regarding the propoſal as meant only to try his affection for Elizabeth, was not forward in the expreſſion of his wiſhes for the match.—While this negotiation languiſhed, young Darnley came to viſit the Scottiſh Court *.

Lord Darnley at the Scottiſh Court.

Lennox, his father, found a reaſonable pretence for coming, at the ſame time, to his native kingdom, in the neceſſity for regulating his private affairs, and for proſecuting the rights of his wife, to the inheritance of the earldom of Angus, ſince her father was now dead.—The attainder paſſed againſt Lennox, under the regency of Hamilton, was, by a ſolemn Parliamentary act, in the beginning of the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-five, reverſed. The Earl of Morton and his kindred were reconciled to Lennox, by his promiſing no longer to urge againſt them, the claims of his family to the earldom of Angus which they had ſeized. In return for conceſſions ſo great, on the part of Lennox; Morton, and his friends ſcrupled not to offer their encouragement to the high match which was now talked of for his ſon. The Preſbyterian party were not ſorry to bring upon the field a new family, which they might ſet in oppoſition to the Hamiltons, and which, poſſeſſing

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* Knox, Melville, &c.

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ing no formidable talents, or actual authority, might be easily managed in their hands, as mere instruments for their own purposes. Even the preachers and the zealots of the Reformation, were inclined to think, that a young man, such as the son of Lennox, born in England, and educated in the profession of the Protestant religion, might prove, at least, a much more fit husband for their Queen, than any of her foreign and Popish suitors. Ere young Darnley had shown himself at Mary's Court; the train was artfully laid; and the high-born pair were already prepared to see each other with sentiments of love. Darnley was first presented to Mary at the Castle of Wemyss in Fife. They were mutually charmed with each other's personal appearance, and exterior accomplishments. Banquets, dancing, masques, celebrated the arrival of the Queen's handsome cousin, and favoured the progress of their mutual love. In the tenderness of courtship, Mary forgot not those political views, of which the neglect must have rendered her purpose of making Darnley her husband, insuperably disagreeable to her foreign relations and allies. Darnley was young, ignorant, inexperienced, inconsiderate, ready to sacrifice every thing to the hopes of the bewitching passion which had seized his whole heart. When Mary, amid the mutual confidence of fond and happy love, acquainted him with the nature

nature of her attachments to the Papal intereſts; his love was too paſſionate and too gallant, not to make him ready to ſacrifice his religion and all his Proteſtant connections to her wiſhes. He was very young, and without experience in the affairs of life; with a mind uncultivated by ſkilful education, and not poſſeſſed of any extraordinary native talents. He was, at this time, little other than—if hiſtory may be permitted to uſe language ſo meanly familiar,—*a great boy*. Mary poſſeſſed eminent genius: ſhe had received many of the beſt benefits of a wiſe education: her experience in affairs, was, for her youthful age, uncommonly great: ſhe was qualified to direct and ſubdue the mind of Darnley, by the influence of her abilities, even if ſhe had not captivated and enchained his heart by the power of her perſonal charms. Ere the marriage of Mary with the Lord Darnley, had been ſecretly agreed upon, between themſelves; Darnley had already ceaſed to be that ſure tool of the party of Moray and Morton, which they had expected to make him; and was become friendly, not ſo much to the Reformation, as to that religion which was, alone, approved by Mary *.

Rizzio, a Savoyard muſician; who,—as the Italian artiſts were then wont to wander through Europe, in ſearch of patronage,—came into Scot-

* Knox: Buchanan, &c.

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land, with the ambaſſador from the Court of Turin; had made himſelf acceptable at Mary's Court, by his muſical talents, and his perſonal addreſs; and was now retained by Mary, as her private ſecretary. A Catholic, a foreigner, dependent for the advancement of his fortune on the Queen alone, unavoidably admitted, from the nature of the office which he held, into the confidential intimacy of his royal miſtreſs; Rizzio ſeems to have already become her only counſellor and agent, in reſpect to all her deſigns and correſpondence relative to the re-eſtabliſhment of the Papal intereſts in Scotland. His intervention was therefore employed, to detach Darnley from the Preſbyterian party, by which this fortunate lover had been firſt introduced to her favour. Rizzio was ſucceſsful. Darnley devoted himſelf to the political intereſts of Mary and her foreign allies, alone. The marriage was finally determined upon. Mary was enabled to repreſent it in ſuch a light to her friends in France, and by their means, at the Court of Rome; that the approbation of thoſe Papal Powers who took an intereſt in the concerns of the young Scottiſh Queen, was eaſily obtained. Pius the Fourth, who now filled the Papal throne, graciouſly encouraged Mary's attachment to the Catholic religion, by a ſplendid pecuniary preſent, which ſhipwreck had made the prize

Political views of Mary, connected with her intention of marrying Darnley.

prize of the Engliſh Earl of Northumberland: And in the ſame ſpirit, he chearfully granted that diſpenſation which Mary requeſted, and without which, ſhe could not conſiſtently with the laws of the Romiſh church, become the wife of her couſin *.

But, while Mary's Papal friends and allies were thus cordially reconciled to her purpoſe of marriage with Darnley; thoſe Preſbyterian nobles and that Engliſh faction, by whom he had been, at the firſt introduced to her favourable notice, became irreconcileably adverſe to this meaſure. They ſaw, that Lennox and his ſon, whom they had brought on the ſtage of their intrigues, ſolely for the purpoſe of creating rivals to the Hamiltons, and of providing to themſelves, creatures apt to be managed as mere puppets, at their pleaſure; were dexterouſly ſnatched from their hands, by the female arts and the policy of Mary, and were about to be employed for the reſtoration of the Catholic religion, and for the diſappointment of all Elizabeth's wiſhes. Huntley had fallen in vain, if a new family, more illuſtrious than that of Huntley, were thus to be raiſed up, in order to renew the hopes of the Catholics. At

Views of the Queen of England and the Earl of Moray, concerning the marriage.

* Buchanan; Melville: Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes: Keith, &c.

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the Engliſh Court, the defection of Darnley and Lennox from the intereſts of Elizabeth and of Preſbyterianiſm, gave perhaps ſtill greater offence and alarm. If the intereſts of Darnley and the Queen of the Scots, the two next heirs after Elizabeth to the Engliſh Crown, were once united by their marriage, and united in favour of the Papal intereſts; Elizabeth, it was ſuppoſed, would then ſit much more inſecurely on her throne. Already did the views of the Catholics abroad, the wiſhes and the deſigns of the Papiſts at home, and even the not deeply diſguiſed pretenſions of Mary herſelf, hold Elizabeth's reign in continual danger of being diſturbed by attempts to precipitate her from royalty. While the pretenſions of *Mary*, and of the *ſon of the Lady* Margaret Douglas, to the Engliſh ſucceſſion, remained diſtinct; while at leaſt the one of theſe expectant heirs, was entirely Proteſtant,—and the other was in Preſbyterian cuſtody; Elizabeth and her miniſters might trample upon both, or might, at leaſt, with little difficulty, hold them at bay. Elizabeth's reaſonable fears and jealouſies in reſpect to the danger of her ſituation; the anxious vigilance of her miniſter, Cecil, perhaps too refined in its views, and pointing them occaſionally to objects too remote: thus rendered her paſſionately hoſtile to the contracting of a marriage; which they had, before, thought of, but lightly,

and

and had not wholly disapproved. Dudley, too, the proffered suitor of Mary, was by her preference of Darnley, proudly slighted. Every thing concurred to unite the English Court in a correspondence with the leaders of the Presbyterian party, for the end of yet preventing Mary from making Darnley her husband *.

WHILE these altered views of a matrimonial alliance, between the Queen of the Scots, and the Lord Darnley, began to govern, in a new direction, the measures of the English Court, and of the Earl of Moray's faction, in regard to a political object of such importance: Mary, now aware of the error in policy by which she had permitted the family of Huntley to be almost exterminated by its rivals; endeavoured to rally around her, all the strength of the ancient Popish party. Ever since the bold zeal of Knox had compelled Moray and his coadjutors to throw aside that guise of duplicity, which, promising their reconversion to Popery, had been their chief recommendation to Mary: she had begun to withdraw her confidence from Moray; and to repent, that she had hitherto so implicitly adopted his counsels. The opinions of her foreign relations of the House of Guise, concerning that policy which was expressed in the measures of Moray's administration,

Measures adopted by Mary to strengthen the Popish party.

* Spottiswood: Buchanan, l. xvii.: Camden: Melville.

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ſtration, confirmed and exaſperated her riſing diſlike to him. Thoſe ſecret political intrigues of which Rizzio ſeems to have been the confidential miniſter; and the facility with which Darnley, in the fondneſs of love, conſented to adopt all the views of his royal miſtreſs; encouraged Mary to enter more boldly upon the execution of thoſe meaſures to which alone, ſhe wiſhed ſucceſs. Moray's diſpoſition to thwart the purpoſes of his Queen, increaſed with her apparently increaſing diſlike to him, and ſerved in its turn, to exaſperate that diſlike. When Mary recalled from exile, Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, who had been before the fall of Huntley, baniſhed, on account of an obſcure and doubtful conſpiracy againſt Moray's life; when ſhe liberated the Lord Gordon from confinement, and reſtored him to the poſſeſſion of the eſtates and honours of his father: Moray then reckoned his own ruin, and that of his party, to be determined upon; and reſolved, with the aid of England, yet to avert their fate by preventing the intended marriage *.

Mary, however, in this inſtance, exerciſed an active and ſkilful policy, by which the oppoſition of her enemies was to be effectually defeated. Hitherto, ſhe had not loſt that popularity among her own

* Buchanan: Melville, &c.

own subjects, which the first measures of her government, her late confidence in the Earl of Moray, and the hopes she allowed the Protestants to entertain of her conversion, had fortunately gained to her. Moray and his political associates, had by their doubtful conduct, alienated, in some degree, the minds of the more zealous reformers from their interests. Notwithstanding the late overthrow of the strength of the House of Huntley, the Papal party had become considerably more powerful, than they were, about the period of the negotiation of the late treaty of Edinburgh. The restoration of the family of Huntley, the recall of Bothwell from exile, and those other measures which Mary employed to strengthen the Catholics, failed not of their effect. So powerful were the Catholics, at this period, that the Protestants durst scarcely make any open insurrection, for fear of being overpowered by them. The hopes of Mary's future efforts in their favour, inspired them with new boldness in the cause of their religion, and with new zeal for the interests of their Queen. By all these means, Mary had at this time, in her own kingdom, an authority and influence sufficient to defend her against the intrigues of Moray and his accomplices. Although without any confidential counsellors possessing talents to direct her measures; she baffled all the endeavours of

Success and progress of those measures.

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the Presbyterian party, to make her government suddenly odious among her subjects. Elizabeth's artifices of negotiation, she met by artifices not less skilful. Even the Protestant clergy, she almost won to her interests, by pretending a sudden desire to be illuminated by their instructions, in order to her conversion. Perceiving Moray ready to have recourse to the most desperate and criminal measures of opposition to her intentions; she summoned her faithful vassals to attend her in arms; and prepared to dissipate the gathering storm of conspiracy, by bringing its authors to instant trial. They were now too weak to attempt at once an open opposition in arms, too guilty to submit with ready obedience to a judicial trial *.

The marriage celebrated.

In this prosperous state, therefore, of her affairs, Mary ventured to give her hand to her lover. They were married in the Queen's chapel at Holyrood-house, on the twenty-ninth day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty-five. A proclamation was at the same time emitted, conferring on Lord Darnley who had previously been exalted to other honours, the title of King of the Scots. Mary wore, during the ceremony of the marriage, the mourning-weeds of her widowhood. But, these she immediately changed for gay robes becoming the joy and festivity

* Eosdem quos supra.

festivity of this happy occasion. For some days, the festivities usual upon similar occasions, alone occupied the Court. When the ordinary course of business was again suffered to proceed, the name of Darnley was associated with that of the Queen in every written deed *.

First nuptial happiness of Mary and Darnley.

Mary and her bridegroom, no doubt, expected a long course of happy years, in consequence of their nuptial union. Mary might hope to find Darnley ever constant in his love; complaisant to her wishes; never ambitious to snatch out of her hands, that authority of which it was natural for her to desire to retain at least all the substance to herself. She would hope, no doubt, to see all those difficulties which as yet opposed her accession to the English throne, smoothed away before her, in consequence of this combination of her rights with those of the most formidable among her rivals, for the succession to Elizabeth. Having procured Darnley and his father to acquiesce in her designs, in favour of the Papal party and of continental alliances; having confirmed the strength and redressed the injuries of that party; having outwitted the policy of Moray and his adherents, and brought their patriotism under suspicions; possessing a degree of influence and popularity among her own subjects, which she

* Buchanan: Knox: Hume: Melville, &c.

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she had never before attained;—She might naturally expect, that with all these advantages, she should soon eclipse the glory of Elizabeth, and should be able to accomplish all those great measures in favour of the Catholic religion, which the Cardinal of Lorraine, and her other relations of the House of Guise, had earnestly suggested to her.—Darnley, again, saw before him, the most ample gratification of his ambition. He would expect to see Mary retire to the duties of a wife, and leave to him the exercise of the sovereign power. He would hope to trample upon all his personal adversaries, and upon all the ancient enemies of his family. He saw in the prospect of conjugal life with a woman of Mary's personal charms and manners, the highest felicity provided for him, that love could bestow upon a young and ardent soul, formed for the enjoyment of its bliss.—In the delirium of prosperous love, they both looked in imagination to every degree of happiness that could be conceived to arise from their union. They saw none of those evils with which it was not impossible that this union might yet be attended. So vain are the hopes of the young and the inexperienced, when passion fills the heart, and exalts the imagination, and when its success still encourages new wishes and new hopes.

Disappointed

Disappointed in ſome meditated ſchemes, to ſeize or deſtroy Darnley by ſecret treachery; and no longer able to ſave themſelves from judicial conviction and puniſhment, otherwiſe than by open rebellion; Moray and his adherents now took up arms. From England, they obtained a ſupply of money, to the amount of ten thouſand pounds, for the ſupport of their hoſtilities againſt their Sovereign. The danger of the Reformed religion, and thoſe irregular acts of power, which the Queen had lately exerciſed, in violation of the rights of the Parliament, afforded plauſible pretexts, to win the people to the party of the inſurrection. The Hamiltons, ever jealous of the proſperity of the rival Houſe of Lennox, were ſeduced to lend the ſanction of their name and rights, to the guilty turbulence of Moray. While the King and Queen were at Glaſgow, the inſurgents ſhewed themſelves at Paiſley, with a company of a thouſand horſemen: From Paiſley, they paſſed to Hamilton, from Hamilton to Edinburgh. Alexander Areſkine, lieutenant of the Caſtle, and the *Laird* of Craigmillar, Provoſt of the town, attempted in vain to prevent their entrance within the walls. Knox and the other zealots of the reformation, now cordially reconciled to Moray, ſince they ſaw him in hoſtile oppoſition to the Queen, who would not become their convert, had already laboured with

Moray's rebellion defeated.

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incredible activity, to prepare the minds of the Presbyterians in Edinburgh, boldly to take part with the insurgents. The citizens were invited, but in vain, by sound of drum, and the promise of liberal pay, to join the banner of rebellion. Finding that their popularity, the money of England, and the discontents of the Presbyterians, would not enable them to support themselves against the just indignation of the Queen; they made some sullen and therefore fruitless efforts, to accomplish a reconciliation, and obtain their pardon. Even their own party was divided: for Morton and Maitland, the most cunning and the most profligate among all the leaders of the reforming cabal; gained probably by allurements of private interest; still remained at least apparently faithful to their duty. The money of England was again and again offered in vain, to procure recruits to their forces. Mary, in the mean time, with her young husband, his father Lennox, Athole, Morton, Rizzio, and all the chiefs who remained faithful to their allegiance, mustered new forces with the most active alacrity, pursued the rebels from place to place, and forced them at last to retire in doubt and fear, to the town of Dumfries, that they might thence escape upon any sudden increase of danger, into the English territories. The Queen, after surmounting some difficulties, which she found in raising adequate

adequate ſupplies of money for this emergency, and after mortgaging to the burgeſſes of Edinburgh, the ſuperiority of the town of Leith; prepared to follow them thither. The Maſter of Maxwell deſerting their intereſts; together with the Barons of Drumlanerick and Lochinvar, two other chieftains in thoſe diſtricts, who had at firſt aſſociated with them; came to meet the Queen, while with an army of eighteen thouſand men, ſhe advanced as far as Crawford, toward Dumfries, and thence, immediately onwards to this weſtern town. Moray, with his adherents, at her approach, haſtily withdrew, by Ednam, to Carliſle in England. The rebellion was thus effectually ſuppreſſed. The Queen diſbanded the greater part of her army, and returned in triumph to Edinburgh *.

General ſucceſs of Mary's policy.

As yet Mary had derived from the meaſures of policy, which her marriage with Darnley had made neceſſary, nought but advantages and increaſing authority. The energy of her perſonal character was never more powerfully diſplayed, than at this juncture. She had made an happy trial of her popularity and influence among her ſubjects. That party which ſhe had called around her, and that ſyſtem of meaſures which ſhe had begun to adopt for the reſtoration of the Roman-

* Lindſay, 387—391. Buchanan: Melville, &c.

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man-Catholic religion, had not as yet disappointed her hopes. Darnley was still faithful and fond. Conducting herself in a manner sufficiently discreet and skilful, in her intercourse with foreign courts; she had won all those of her continental allies who were themselves disappointed by her marriage with Darnley,—not to become her enemies, in consequence of that disappointment. Encouraged by this prosperity and success, perhaps irritated beyond the bounds of prudence by the turbulent and violently factious conduct of Knox and his creatures; perhaps yielding too inconsiderately to the indiscreet counsels of Rizzio, and the zealot Catholics who surrounded her; she now proceeded with too great rapidity to throw off that mask of moderation and tolerant gentleness, which she had hitherto studiously worn. The Presbyterian clergy, in vain, solicited the payment of that proportion out of the property of the abolished ecclesiastical establishment, which had been appropriated for their support. A *toleration* was openly proposed by the Queen and her ministers; and was naturally regarded by the zealous disciples of the Reformation, as the first step towards the new exaltation of Popery to its ancient honours. Her courtiers, to flatter her wishes, shewed themselves sufficiently

ſufficiently ready to abjure the religion which they had lately adopted; and the Earls of Lennox, Athole, and Caſſilis, openly attended the ſervice of the maſs in the Queen's chapel. To exalt Mary's proſperous ſucceſs; Elizabeth made a ſhow, at her Court, of diſapproving that inſurrection which ſhe had excited in Scotland; and refuſing to admit Moray and the other Scottiſh exiles into her preſence, thus virtually owned the injuſtice of that ſecret and inſidious interference in the national affairs of the Scots, which ſhe had not diſdained to practiſe. Amidſt all this, the authority and the honours of David Rizzio, were continually exalted by the munificence of his Royal Miſtreſs; till his invidious grandeur, and his weakly arrogant demeanour, began to give general and deep offence to all the Scottiſh nobles *.

First diſagreements between Henry and Mary.

But, the raptures of ſucceſsful love could not long prevail in all their ardour. Enjoyment was ſoon to languiſh, even amidſt the ſplendour of royalty, and the triumphs of military and political ſucceſs. Mary might perhaps have been capable of retaining a reaſonable conjugal affection for her huſband, after the firſt fondneſs of courtſhip and mutual paſſion had expired. But, Darnley, leſs mature in years than his Queen; without experience;

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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experience; wanting prudent foreſight; having been educated with that blind parental fondneſs which is too often deſtructive to its objects; without ſettled habits of thought or action, and only accuſtomed with the giddy lightneſs of early youth, to obey every tranſient humour, and every changing paſſion that aroſe in his mind, and ſtill with airy fickleneſs, to deſert one object of paſſion for another; had hardly ſooner been made happy in Mary's arms, than he became indifferent to her love. Amidſt the incipient, mutual coldneſs which, hence, took place between the royal pair; Mary delayed to add ſubſtantial authority to thoſe exterior honours with which ſhe had already graced her huſband. Darnley became indignantly impatient to ſnatch the ſceptre from the hands of his wife. Perhaps it might be not ſo much an unwillingneſs to beſtow upon her huſband, the *Crown-matrimonial*, as the fear of irritating the minds of ſome of her ſubjects, by too much haſte in this meaſure, which withheld Mary from gratifying at once, every wiſh of Darnley's ambition. But, whatever were her reaſons, Darnley did not fail to be paſſionately diſſatisfied by the delay. His father, and the friends of their family, who were eager to attain under King Henry's name, the government of the kingdom, ſhared all his diſcontents. David Rizzio was ſtill the confidential ſecretary of the Queen,

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Queen, and was ſuppoſed to be the author of thoſe counſels by which her huſband's hopes were, for a time, thwarted. Morton and Maitland, with thoſe other chiefs of the Preſbyterian party, who had detached themſelves from the intereſts of Moray and the other exiles; although they remained at Court, and in the exerciſe of their wonted employments; were, however, far from being the cordial friends of that ſyſtem of meaſures, which it was plain that Mary had now determined to purſue. They ſaw, with delight, the weakneſs, the folly, and the diſcontents of Henry and his confidential friends. They applied themſelves to win his confidence, and to inflame his diſcontents. They magnified, in their repreſentations to him, the ſtrength of their own party, and the exalted diſintereſtedneſs of their own views. They repreſented Mary as diſpoſed, never to admit him to the exerciſe of ſubſtantial authority; but as inclined to detain him in her Court, as the mere puppet of her pleaſure. They even hinted to his weak mind, that Rizzio received favours from the Queen, which were inconſiſtent with the conjugal fidelity ſhe owed to her huſband. Henry lent a ready ear to all their ſuggeſtions. They then invited him to accept their friendſhip, and to co-operate in meaſures which they propoſed. The immediate acquiſition of the *Crown-matrimonial*, from a

Henry tempted to engage in an enterpriſe againſt the life of Rizzio, and the power of Mary.

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parliamentary act, was the reward they proffered. A conſpiracy was thus quickly concerted, for the deſtruction of Rizzio, the procuring of the ſovereign power to King Henry, the reſtoration of the exiles, and the diſappointment of all Mary's views, in favour of the Papal religion *.

Circumſtances which led to the full concerting of this conſpiracy.

In the mean time, France, under the vicegerent authority of Catherine di Medici, had been a ſcene of contentions and civil wars, in which the diſagreements of religion and ambition produced effects much more fatal and important, than any that they had recently occaſioned, among the Scots. The Princes of the Houſe of Guiſe, on the one ſide, the Montmorencies and the Prince of Condé on the other, contended for the prime influence in the adminiſtration of the government; and were, the former the leaders of the Catholics; the latter, the chiefs of the Proteſtant or Huguenot party. The Queen-regent, little attached to any principles of religion, but capable of all the bad arts of Italian policy, ſtrove to balance the two parties againſt each other, in ſuch a manner, that the authority of the Crown, and her own power, might, if poſſible, be exalted, or at leaſt confirmed, by their contentions. After various intrigues, and

* Melville's Memoirs, p. 127: Buchanan, l. xvii. p. 631. and Hume's Hiſtory of the Douglaſes, p. 288. 289. b. v. p. 3.

and military operations, Catherine had at laſt, in the treaty of Bayonne, aſſociated her counſels, with thoſe of Pius and of Philip, for the purpoſe of extirpating Calviniſm, by any means, out of France, and to reſiſt the farther progreſs of the Reformation, throughout Europe. The Queen of the Scots, already ſufficiently friendly to the Catholic cauſe, was naturally to be ſolicited, to adopt the views of this new alliance, and to accede formally to the treaty. Ambaſſadors who arrived about this time, from France, to congratulate the King and the Queen of the Scots on their marriage, had it likewiſe in charge to negociate, with all poſſible earneſtneſs and addreſs, the reſtoration of the Papal religion in Scotland, and the union of the Scottiſh Court with France and Spain, againſt Elizabeth and all who were with her attached to the ſame heretical and ſacrilegious cauſe. The views of theſe ambaſſadors, and the wiſhes of the Courts of France and of Rome, accorded entirely with the deareſt purpoſes of Mary's heart, and with that train of meaſures which ſhe had been, for ſome time, endeavouring to carry into effect. It was not difficult, therefore, to perſuade her to agree to whatever they demanded. But, although they brought to Henry, as well as to Mary, ſome complimentary honours, he was not now to be

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won to become the votary of the Catholic cauſe. That charm was diſſolved, which had but lately allured him to its intereſts. Indifference between him and his Queen had been already aggravated to mutual quarrel and diſguſt. Enſnared in the toils of Morton and his aſſociates, he was no longer diſpoſed to ſeek from love, but from rudeneſs, conſpiracy, and violence, that power for which he ſighed. That Mary favoured the Catholic cauſe, was now ſufficient to make him its foe. While the King and the Queen, with the weakneſs of mutual lovers, and of young, inexperienced perſons, continually irritated each other's tempers, by petty acts of reciprocal provocation; politicians were ready around them, to inflame offence to irreconcileable reſentment, for the baſe purpoſe of advancing their own ſelfiſh views. The new jealouſies which were excited among the Preſbyterians, when they beheld the French ambaſſadors in the Scottiſh Court, furniſhed to the weak mind of Henry, a new argument, to induce him to ſeek aggrandiſement to himſelf, by the humiliation and the diſgrace of his Queen. Moray and his fellow-exiles, continued to correſpond with the Preſbyterian party in Scotland; and particularly, even with Maitland and Morton, by whom they had been, for a time, deſerted. *Their* intereſts were the chief objects which

which Morton and his aſſociates now pretended a deſire to promote, in the conſpiracy in which they ſoon entangled Henry. Moray himſelf became a party in this conſpiracy. Oaths and engagements were mutually entered into, between the King on the one hand, and theſe Proteſtant chiefs on the other, by which *they* promiſed to ſnatch the reins of government out of the hands of his wife, and to conſign them to *his;* while *he*, on the other hand, engaged to procure the reſtoration of Moray, and the other exiles, to their country, and to all their former poſſeſſions and honours. The head of Rizzio was devoted for the ſacrifice of this reconciliation. Odious to the Scottiſh nobles in general, as an upſtart ſtranger, who daringly vied with their greatneſs, and intercepted from them the bounties of their Queen; Rizzio was doubly hated by the Preſbyterians, as being a Papiſt, and the agent and counſellor of all Mary's deſigns in favour of the Papal religion. The dark policy of Morton and Maitland, had eaſily contrived to make the Savoyard an object of vain jealouſy to the weak, boyiſh mind of the King: And Henry was taught to believe, that Mary, even while advanced in her pregnancy, had been capable of the abandoned profligacy of receiving to her adulterous embraces, an ugly old man, whoſe perſonal appearance was very

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very far from being formed to pleaſe a woman's eye. He was no leſs perſuaded to regard Rizzio, lately his boſom-friend, as the author of thoſe counſels by which Mary was with-held from conferring thoſe royal honours to which he aſpired. Mary was not unwilling to irritate, by ſuch jealouſies, the indifference of her huſband's love. Rizzio, unable to bear, with moderation of mind, the favour which Mary ſhewed him, treated even the King with arrogance and ſcorn. This was enough to make Henry enter into any meaſure, however raſh and violent, againſt a man whom he viewed, as at once the uſurper of his authority, and the defiler of his bed *.

The conſpiracy carried into effect.

No long time was ſuffered to intervene between the concerting and the actual accompliſhment of this conſpiracy. Morton, Maitland, and Moray although abſent, were its leaders. But, beſide Henry himſelf, Ruthven and Lindſay, eminently zealous chiefs among the Preſbyterians, and at the ſame time related in no very remote affinity or conſanguinity to Henry, eagerly aſſociated themſelves in this daring deſign. When all was ready for ſtriking the meditated blow; Morton and Lindſay, on the evening of the ninth day of March, in the year one thouſand five

1566. hundred and ſixty-ſix, entered the court of the palace,

* Melville: Knox: Keith: Buchanan: Davile, &c.

palace, with about one hundred and ſixty armed men; while ſeveral hundreds more, alſo in arms, ſurrounded it on all ſides. The Queen then ſate at ſupper, with David Rizzio, and a few other perſons in her company. Henry entering the palace, advanced to his wife's apartment. Ruthven, but newly recovered from a dangerous illneſs, clad in complete ſteel, looking like ſome ghaſtly avenger ariſen from the dead, cloſely followed Henry's ſteps. Four aſſaſſins of meaner note, accompanied him. In a voice of which the very tone ſpake death to the heart of Rizzio, Ruthven called on the ſhrinking Savoyard, to get himſelf out from the royal preſence, in which he was utterly unworthy to appear. While terror and confuſion pervaded the whole apartment; while aſtoniſhment, fear, and indignation, overpowered and convulſed the Queen; while Henry ſtrove to ſoothe and to reſtrain her; while Rizzio caught by her robes, to protect him from the weapons which already threatened his boſom; this wretched victim was deeply wounded by George Douglas, with Henry's dagger, was dragged, ſcreaming, forth from the room, was diſpatched and almoſt hacked piecemeal, by no fewer than fifty-ſix wounds, inflicted by the other conſpirators, who ruſhed upon him with all the wild, brutal, and blood-thirſty rage of

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of a pack of dogs, furiouſly tearing in pieces the ſtag which they have at laſt run down*.

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Rizzio, the upſtart rival of the Scottiſh nobles in their Sovereign's favour, the unworthy object of Henry's jealouſy, the momentary organ of Mary's correſpondence with the Catholic Courts abroad, was, thus, by a terrible and ſudden blow, cut off. The purpoſes of Mary in favour of the ancient religion, and thoſe views of policy which had been joined with love, in exciting her to make herſelf the wife of Darnley, were to be in conſequence of this event, for ever diſappointed. Athole, Huntley, Bothwell, and the other chiefs of the Catholic party, were by this enterprize, diſarmed for a time of all their authority, and humbled equally with Mary herſelf. Mary was made the captive of the rebels whom ſhe had lately driven out of her kingdom, and of that Preſbyterian party whoſe bands ſhe had formerly burſt aſunder, and whoſe toils ſhe might perhaps fancy that ſhe had almoſt cruſhed for ever. But Henry, and he alone, was to be diſappointed of the advantages which he had expected to derive from this enterpriſe, and was fatally to ſuffer, as the victim for its guilt.

Conſequences of Rizzio's murder.

After

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

After the murder of Rizzio, the conſpirators remained maſters of the palace, and of the perſon of the Queen. Thoſe nobles of the adverſe party, who had been about her in the palace, were without perſonal injury diſmiſſed. Henry was made to emit a proclamation, by which the expected meeting of the parliament, was, for an indefinite time, prorogued; and the nobles and other freeholders, who had already reſorted to Edinburgh, were commanded to depart to their reſpective houſes. On the evening immediately ſubſequent to that of the conſpiracy, the exiles arrived in Edinburgh; were preſented to the King and the Queen; were graciouſly received,—eſpecially by Mary; were, with the aſſaſſins of Rizzio, eaſily gratified with the promiſe of an ample pardon, and of reſtoration to all their wonted honours. Mary, ſeeing herſelf in the hands of her enemies, diſdained not to practiſe all the artifices of deceit and inſinuation which were fit even to perſuade the moſt crafty courtiers, that her mind might be entirely reconciled to her fate. Henry, although a mere tool of miſchief, in the hands of the bad people about him, now fancied, that all had been done chiefly for the ſake of his exaltation, and that he was to be henceforth the unqueſtioned, unreſiſted maſter of the kingdom. In the pride of imaginary ſucceſs and greatneſs, his heart was ſoften-

Firſt progreſs of events.

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ed to feel the emotions of pity. With the inconſiderate levity of a weak and childiſh mind, he began almoſt to wiſh, that the raſh deed were yet undone, even at the expence of all which he ſuppoſed that he had gained by its perpetration. Far different were the ſentiments of Morton, Maitland, and Moray. Their only care was, how beſt to confirm the intereſts of the Reformation, and to aggrandiſe themſelves, even at the expence of the power, the happineſs, and perhaps the very lives of the royal pair *.

Mary eſcapes to Dunbar.

In theſe unfortunate circumſtances, and while ſuch were the views and relative ſituations of thoſe around her, Mary addreſſed herſelf firſt to her brother, and to her huſband. On Moray's ſoul, ſhe could not hope, by any arts of conciliation, to make an impreſſion ſufficient to ſeduce him at once from his engagements to his party. Henry was, in the preſent temper of his mind, more eaſily to be moved by the tears, and the diſtreſſes of his wife. In the concerting of the conſpiracy, Henry had been made to enter into engagements by which all its guilt was to be attributed to him. He was now in haſte to make expiation. Mary pathetically repreſented to him, that his intereſts and hers were now too cloſely interwoven together, to be ever detached aſunder:

* Knox: Melville: Keith, &c.

And Henry was eaſily perſuaded to believe, that Mary had never admitted Rizzio to a too familiar and confidential intercourſe with her, had never regarded himſelf with indifference or with the reſentment of ſlighted love, had never been in any degree unwilling to reſign to him all that authority which he aſpired to poſſeſs, as her lord. His blind credulity was even won to believe, that, after all that had paſſed, Mary's heart might, yet, be fondly reconciled to him, as if this had been but one of thoſe lover's quarrels, by which the ardour of love is only augmented and inflamed. Mary, while ſhe thus careſſed and deceived her huſband, failed not to hold a ſecret correſpondence with Bothwell, Huntley, and the other chiefs of the defeated party, who had gone to raiſe their vaſſals and dependents, in arms. In vain did his fellow-conſpirators warn Henry to beware of liſtening to the perſuaſions and ſeducements of the Queen. Within leſs than three days after the murder of Rizzio, and the ſeizure of Mary's perſon; her huſband was, by her artifices, won to her ſide; even Morton and his accomplices, were ſo far outwitted, that they conſented to diſmiſs the guards whom they had placed around her perſon; at midnight, ſhe ſecretly eſcaped out of the palace, taking with her, only the King, and a very few attendants; and ere the faction of

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Moray, Morton, and the Preſbyterians, were aware of her eſcape, ſhe had reached in ſafety, the caſtle of Dunbar *.

It was quickly known to all her own adherents, and to all the Popiſh party, that the Queen had made her eſcape, and that Henry had deſerted his accomplices. Addreſs ſo admirable in ſo young a woman, amid circumſtances of ſuch difficulty, tended to enliven the loyalty of all her friends. Bothwell inſtantly joined her at Dunbar, with a force which left her little to fear from the purſuit of the faction, out of whoſe hands ſhe had eſcaped. The Earls of Athole and Caithneſs, the Earl Marſhal, the Lords Hume and Yeſter, with their followers, ſpeedily repaired to augment the force which Bothwell had brought. Within a few days, Mary ſaw an army of no fewer than eight thouſand men ready to defend her ſafety, and to execute her commands. Thoſe in whoſe toils ſhe was ſo lately entangled, became now her ſuppliants. Lord Sempill was ſent to intreat her pardon of their late audacious crime: But, his embaſſy was ſlighted. Aſtoniſhed by the ability with which Mary had accompliſhed her eſcape, and by the promptitude with which an army ſo powerful had aſſembled around her, Moray

Mary humbles her enemies.

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan: Keith, &c.

Moray and Morton could make no preparation ſufficiently ſpeedy, to reſiſt thoſe meaſures of puniſhment with which their injured and indignant Queen now threatened to overwhelm them. Mary, whoſe reſentment was to be appeaſed by no hypocritical pretences of conceſſion, quickly advanced from Dunbar, to ſurpriſe and ſeize them in Edinburgh. Henry was carried about with her, as a pageant of her triumph, not with the honour and the confidence which he might have deſerved, as her huſband. In vain did Henry, by a declaration before the Privy Council, endeavour to exculpate himſelf from all concern in the guilt of Rizzio's ſlaughter. He was, by this act of mean falſity, only humbled and diſgraced in the eyes of the world, not vindicated in the eſtimation of his Queen. Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindſay, the leaders in the late conſpiracy, made their eſcape out of Edinburgh, while Mary approached,—and ſought refuge in England. The hopes of winning Moray to forſake that party, of which he had ſo long been accounted the head, induced his ſiſter to ſeal his pardon. Nor was Moray himſelf more averſe, upon this occaſion, from abandoning, at leaſt oſtenſibly, the cauſe of Morton and Maitland, than they had lately been from forſaking his intereſts, when he was driven into exile. Even the undaunted Knox thought

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it prudent, at this time, to retire from Edinburgh, into Ayrshire. The royal authority, the authority, not of Henry, but of Mary, was thus suddenly restored in Edinburgh, with greater energy than ever. All those who had been privy to the late conspiracy, were now much more eager to deny all concern in it, than they had lately been to hurry it into act. Huntley, Bothwell, and their associates, were now all-powerful at Court*.

Her unrelenting resentment against her husband.

It must be owned, that, on this occasion, Mary did not use her advantages with due moderation. She carried too far, her resentment for her husband's suspicions against her honour, and for his attempts to abridge her power. He was already aware, that he had done unwisely in assisting her to escape out of the hands of his accomplices, in the assassination of Rizzio. But, the fatal moment of his good fortune had passed. It was no longer possible for him to renew the conspiracy, or again to muster around him those accomplices whom he had weakly betrayed. Although excluded even from all shew of power, although treated with all the slights that could be accumulated upon even an inferior courtier in disgrace, he still remained with the Queen, and still endeavoured, by the mediation of Sir James Melville, to prevail with her, yet to restore to him,

* Melville, p. 132: Buchanan, l. xvii. *sub fine.*

him, all her wonted confidence and love. From Edinburgh, he followed her to Stirling, from Stirling to Alloa, out of Alloa ſhe returned back to Edinburgh. Melville earneſtly continued his conciliatory offices between the royal pair, till Mary herſelf angrily forbade his farther interpoſition. The very idea of her huſband having but dared to engage in that daring enterpriſe, which had been perpetrated againſt her authority, ſeems to have, from time to time, renewed in her breaſt, the moſt indignant reſentment. Her pregnancy, now very nearly advanced to the period of child-birth, excluded that tender dalliance which might perhaps have favoured the reconcilement of this quarrel of conjugal love. Bothwell, Huntley, and the other nobles of their party, who were now her confidential counſellors, were ſtill at hand to perſuade her, that neither her life nor authority could ever again be ſecure, if Henry were once more reſtored to her confidence. They were ready to liſten to all her complaints, and ſtill to exaſperate, by a thouſand artful inſinuations, her reſentment and her ſorrow. Perhaps Moray might have had influence, ſufficient to effect ſomething of a reconciliation, between Mary and Henry. But, Henry had already deceived him, and had been won to counteract his views: And Moray would not again

expoſe

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expoſe himſelf to ſimilar danger, by again making a common cauſe with the unfortunate King. Had Henry poſſeſſed any potent family-intereſt, he might yet perhaps have been able to command reſpect. But, his father was a man of mean talents, who had ſpent in France and in England almoſt all the former part of his life; and therefore wanted influence and popularity among the Scots. His other relations had been his accomplices in the murder of Rizzio, and had been deſerted by him. Henry alone, was deſtitute of any reſources for ſupport and protection againſt the odium and revenge of the late conſpiracy: And he therefore was to ſuffer the moſt ſeverely for its guilt. All parties had been by his weakneſs and levity betrayed: And there was none that could, in his preſent ſituation, derive any material advantage from eſpouſing his cauſe againſt the inſults and the ill-offices of the reſt. Mary, in the mean time, retired into the caſtle of Edinburgh; and was there, on the nineteenth day of June, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix, delivered of her ſon, who, in conſequence of her errors, was to be, even in infancy, exalted to ſit upon her throne *.

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While

* Melville: Keith: Knox, &c.

While theſe events paſſed in Scotland, Elizabeth and her miniſters ſtill watched their progreſs with a keen and vigilant eye. Throgmorton, a man who was, in a conſiderable degree, attached to Mary's intereſts, reſided in Scotland, as the ordinary ambaſſador of Elizabeth. Sir Robert Melville was Mary's ambaſſador at the Engliſh Court. Elizabeth, although ſhe would not directly or avowedly take part in any dark machinations againſt the authority or the perſonal ſafety of the Queen of the Scots, was ſtill ready to afford her ſecret protection to the Preſbyterian faction in Scotland, upon every emergency on which the failure of their enterpriſes appeared to bring them into danger. Moray and his accomplices in the former inſurrection, had been driven with feigned indignation from her preſence, when they dared to preſent themſelves openly in her Court; but, had been ſecretly ſupported and encouraged with many proofs of her approbation and favour. Morton and his confederates in the ſlaughter of Rizzio, now found in England a ready aſylum to receive them from the proſecution of their injured Sovereign's wrath. To the remonſtrances made by Mary's ambaſſador, in her name, againſt this favourable reception of the Scottiſh rebels, Elizabeth's miniſters made anſwer by correſponding remonſtrances; bitterly complaining, that Mary

Correſpondence between the Scottiſh and Engliſh Courts.

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herſelf was not aſhamed to afford her protection and countenance to the outlawed enemies of Elizabeth. If agents of the Engliſh Court intrigued with the Preſbyterians in Scotland; Mary's emiſſaries were perhaps little leſs aſſiduous in plotting with the Papiſts, and in ſtirring them up againſt a Queen whom they regarded as an uſurper. The two Queens, in the mean time, uſed only the language of ſiſterly affection and friendſhip, in their letters and addreſſes to one another; but a rancorous jealouſy and rivalſhip inflamed their hearts. Elizabeth had far the ſuperiority in the competition: for, Elizabeth's paſſions, and her whole ſoul, were purely, or almoſt purely *political;* but, Mary, with a more maſterly genius for intrigue, poſſeſſed the moſt overpowering *private* affections and paſſions, in a degree of force and ardour which were ſufficient to make her ſlight all the regards of political prudence, and even of public virtue. When Elizabeth heard that the Queen of the Scots had born a ſon, ſhe burſt into tears of envious ſorrow, and exclaimed to her attendants; "The Queen of the Scots is the mother of a "fair ſon; and I but a joyleſs and ſolitary "maiden!" The advantages of Mary towards expelling her from her throne, were, by this event, ſhe could not but perceive, mightily increaſed. Even if this might be eſchewed; yet Mary and her

her progeny would, in all probability, upon Elizabeth's death, add the Crown of England to that of Scotland, and become Sovereigns of united Britain; while Elizabeth's family was to become extinct, and her name perhaps to be for ever forgotten. Yet the Engliſh Queen failed not, ſoon to dry up her tears, and to ſend to congratulate Mary on the birth of her ſon, in a language of ſatisfaction and joy, that ill accorded with the feelings of her heart. The ſame ambaſſador who had come from Scotland, to announce at the Engliſh Court the birth of the Scottiſh Prince, had it alſo in charge, to procure from Elizabeth a formal and authentic declaration of Mary's rights, to ſucceed her on the Engliſh throne. Elizabeth, while ſhe pretended an earneſt deſire to ſatisfy them in this demand; was, however, moved by it, no farther, than to give orders for the commencement of ſpecious, previous inquiries; which could be protracted for any indefinite length of time; and which, while they were continued, would prevent the neceſſity of her coming to an expreſs deciſion. A declaration in favour of any one particular heir, would have had the effect to ſet up a rival to Elizabeth's authority, within her own dominions, and during her life-time. Her averſion, therefore, from gratifying Mary's wiſhes of this ſort, is to be imputed to indiſpen-

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ſible prudence, and to ſtrong ſtate-neceſſity, much more than to any diſintereſted malignity, rankling in her heart, againſt the Scottiſh Queen. The ſame events, too, which thus ſerved to exalt Mary's pretenſions, and to make her more formidable to her royal couſin; ſeem to have likewiſe ſuggeſted to Elizabeth and her miniſters, the expediency of multiplying the lines, and of thickening the meſhes of their intrigues with the Preſbyterian Scots, and with all the reſt of Mary's adverſaries *.

Continued diſſenſion between Henry and Mary.

In the mean time, the train of events was proceeding in Scotland, with an awful and inauſpicious career. Henry, ſtill in diſgrace with his Queen, and now loaded by Moray, and indeed by all parties, with the imputation of the whole guilt of Rizzio's ſlaughter; poſſeſſed none of that addreſs or ability which might have enabled him to overcome the prejudices, or to extinguiſh the reſentment, of his Queen. Even the tenderneſs which one ſhould have ſuppoſed, that the birth of her ſon might have awakened in Mary's boſom, towards his father, ſeems not to have been at all felt by her, or to have been ſuppreſſed, as it aroſe, by ſentiments of a far different character. During her convaleſcence, and when ſhe began again to come abroad, in

* Melville: Knox: Camden, &c.

in all the wonted ſplendour of her charms, Henry was not the companion of her ſolitude, nor the attendant and partner of her public amuſements. Thoſe who had won her gratitude by their ſeaſonable aid, in her late danger, Bothwell, Huntley, and their confidential aſſociates, alone poſſeſſed her ear, guided her opinions, and adminiſtered her power. The reſpect with which courtiers like theſe, would naturally addreſs a young and lovely Queen, ſuch as Mary, and in her peculiar circumſtances, could differ but little from the fond adoration of love and courtſhip. Educated in the wanton Court of Catherine di Medici; being naturally of a warm and amorous temperament; having been, at no former period of her life, averſe from that coquetry, which delights to toy with the ſolicitations of lovers, even while it means never to gratify them: Mary was quickly led to behave towards Bothwell, with manners which encouraged him to breathe in her ears, the language of love. It has been ſaid with truth, that nothing is ever more likely to make a woman fall deeply in love with one man, than a hearty hatred for ſome other man whom her fancy may be naturally led to compare with him, as his rival. The indignation with which Mary ſtill regarded her huſband, was therefore highly favourable to the

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the ſucceſs of Bothwell's guilty and preſumptuous paſſion. All endeavours to accompliſh a reconciliation between Henry and Mary, were by her ſtill indignantly rejected. Thoſe foreign ambaſſadors who came to congratulate the royal pair upon the occaſion of the birth of their ſon, ſaw with ſurpriſe, the indications of that diſſenſion which reigned between them. Bedford, the ambaſſador of Elizabeth, ſhewed himſelf more willing to foment and inflame, than to ſoothe and heal it. Du Croc, the ambaſſador of France, was anxious to have reſtored between them all, the cordial fondneſs of the conjugal union. Henry, ſeeing his conceſſions and repentance ſo deceitfully and contemptuouſly ſlighted; behaved with much of the wayward ſullenneſs of a ſpoiled child; and by this conduct, made himſelf but ſo much the more contemptible. —Moray might have been ſtill expected to prevent, at leaſt a part of that diſhonour which was now caſt upon Henry; and *he* ſurely muſt have ſeen the Queen's obſtinate reſentment againſt Henry alone, to be fatally injurious to the true intereſts of the Crown. But, Moray was no longer equally powerful as he had been, when the treaty of Edinburgh was framed, when Mary had but newly arrived, or when he returned in triumph, from atchieving the ruin of the Earl of Huntley. Mary's addreſs and artifices

artifices about the time of her marriage, had greatly weakened the ſtrength of the Preſbyterian party. The diviſion of Morton and Maitland from Moray, amid the train of events which followed, had, at leaſt, not tended to augment that party's force and union. Even now, notwithſtanding all Mary's errors, they were ſtill weak, and little able, while Morton and his aſſociates were in exile, to controul the authority of the Queen. Mary, ſince the enterpriſe againſt the life of Rizzio, had again ſoftened the malignity of the Preſbyterians, by a ſhow of departing from that policy in which ſhe ſeemed to have been, before, faſt haſtening to the total abolition of the reformed religion. The birth of her ſon, too, gave her new conſequence, and new power with the Scottiſh nation, which naturally ſtrengthened her authority againſt the overbearing influence of any faction. Such a combination of circumſtances left Moray, at this time, unable to arrogate any high authority at Court. For the protection of his own ſafety; and in order, if poſſible, to procure the recall of Morton and the other exiles of their party; he even found it neceſſary to court the favour of Huntley and Bothwell, and to comply with ſeveral of their meaſures, which he muſt have equally dreaded and abhorred. To gratify Mary, and thoſe chiefs of the Papal faction, by whom

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whom she was surrounded, he scrupled not to violate all those secret engagements with Henry, by which he had stipulated to devote himself to the young monarch's interests, if Henry would aid the conspiracy which was destined to bring Moray home. Henry thus deserted by Moray, was enraged against *him*, and against all the other accomplices in the conspiracy, even more than against those who were more directly the authors of his present humiliation*.

Days, weeks, and months, thus passed on. Mary, recovered from the illness of child-birth, again busied herself in the active government of her kingdom. The King and Queen were, by the good offices of the French ambassador, at last brought together, and even passed two nights in the same apartment in the intimacy of conjugal intercourse. But, no cordial reconciliation could be accomplished between them. Henry thought, not unreasonably, that some apology and compensation were now due to him for the deceitful resentment which Mary had nourished in her breast against him, after having accepted his services, and pretended to pardon his error. Mary, however sensible, that it became her as possessing a superior mind, to forgive

* Eosdem quos supra.

give her huſband, and to receive to the arms of reconciled affection, him whoſe weakneſs ſhe could, by the force of more powerful talents, ſway and manage at her pleaſure; yet ſuffered an implacable reſentment ſtill to rankle in her heart; and even began to indulge the firſt emotions of affections ſtill more guilty. Mary was willing to be reconciled to her huſband, if he would be content with an *apparent* reconciliation, if he would remain in meanneſs and ignominy about her Court, if he would ſuffer her and her favourites to triumph over him, in his very preſence. Henry would agree to no reconciliation which did not eſtabliſh him in all his rights, as her lord and as the maſter of her kingdom. They ſoon ſeparated with exaſperated anger. Henry, after this, attempted yet to move her by the ridiculous and puerile expedient of threatening to leave the kingdom. Mary, to divert him from his purpoſe, oſtentatiouſly practiſed a thouſand pretended endearments; yet ſtill obſtinately refuſed to gratify him, in that which ſhe knew to be the primary object of his wiſhes. Had Henry poſſeſſed ſufficient diſcretion to content himſelf for ſome time, with what he could eaſily obtain; and to wait a happier ſeaſon for gaining whatever more of power or honour, he deſired; all might, yet, perhaps, have turned out well. But, it would not

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be. Like a wayward child, he would have all his will, or would remain ſullen and diſſatisfied. When the ceremony of the baptiſm of his ſon was to be formally celebrated, it was naturally to be ſuppoſed, that the father would, on that occaſion, act a very conſpicuous and important part. But, whatever preparations were, by Mary's order, made for the other parts of the coming ſolemnity; there were none which beſpoke any purpoſe of doing honour to Henry. It ſeemed, as if Mary, in the fears of rivalſhip, had merely uſed the lure of marriage, in order to draw Darnley and his father from the protection of Elizabeth, and to bring them within her own power; that ſhe might then for ever depreſs them below the poſſibility of their riſing again into competition with her own pretenſions and rights. Every ſucceſſive act of Henry's, but betrayed new waywardneſs and folly, and ſerved to make Mary no leſs aſhamed of her choice, than reſentful of the wrongs which ſhe believed herſelf to have ſuffered. In the mean time, Maitland, and within no long period after, Morton, and the reſt of the ſurviving accomplices in the conſpiracy that deſtroyed Rizzio, obtained their pardon, and were recalled from exile. And ſtill as every one of them returned to the Court; they ſtrove to exculpate themſelves, and to puniſh Henry's weak defection at the critical

cal moment when he ſuffered Mary to eſcape out of their hands;—by loading him alone, in their repreſentations to the Queen, with all the guilt of Rizzio's ſlaughter. Bothwell, and that Papal party of which he was now the chief, had the merit of facilitating, by interceſſion with the Queen, the reſtoration of all thoſe exiles: And the ſmalleſt return which could be made, was for the humbled faction to with-hold themſelves, at leaſt for a time, from traverſing the intrigues of Bothwell, and from thwarting the policy of Mary. Bothwell, more mature in years than Henry, although ſtill in the very prime of life; was ever near to Mary's perſon; and was continually diſplaying a devotedneſs to her ſervice, an ability for the promoting of her deſigns, a ſtrength of family-intereſt, and a ſuperior manlineſs, and winning aſſiduity of manners,—ſuch as could not but ſhew very advantageouſly, in compariſon with the weakneſs, the caprice, and the childiſh pettiſhneſs of her huſband. From being a favourite, while her huſband was in diſgrace, Bothwell eaſily made his way to a reciprocity of guilty ſecrets with Mary. She ſoon began to treat him with an open indecorum of kindneſs, perfectly oppoſite to that contempt and averſion which ſhe, at this time, exerciſed towards Henry. Bothwell was her lieutenant on the eaſtern marches; and when the turbu-

Her amours with Bothwell.

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lent borderers reſiſted him in his attempts to controul their licence, by the arm of juſtice; Mary fondly haſtened, at the firſt notice, to ſhare his danger, and to enforce his commands. A ſudden illneſs, with which ſhe was affected at Jedburgh, alarmed her with the near proſpect of death; yet, without reconciling her affections to her huſband. Recovered from this illneſs; ſhe, for a while, appeared to languiſh in that gloomy melancholy, which is apt to overcaſt the temper of the mind, when we heſitate between our duty and the ſeeming advantages of ſome hainous crime. The period for the baptiſm of the Prince, at laſt arrived. On the ſeventeenth day of December, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſix, it was pompouſly celebrated in the chapel of the Caſtle of Stirling, after the Roman-Catholic ritual. The repreſentatives of the Queen of England, of the Duke of Savoy, of the King of France, aſſiſted as ſponſors. Charles James, James Charles, were the names given to the infant: And he was immediately proclaimed Prince and Steward of Scotland, Duke of Rothſay, Lord of the Iſles, and Baron of Renfrew *.

Baptiſm of the Prince.

Progreſs of Mary's fortunes.

In the mean time, the train which events now took, both in Scotland and in England, was ſo favourable to the intereſts of Mary; that, with a

* Keith: Melville: Spottiſwood, &c.

a very little leſs of predilection for the religion of her anceſtors, with a mind even but a very little leſs diſpoſed to yield to the deluſion of an unlawful paſſion; ſhe might very quickly have fixed herſelf in a firm ſuperiority to all the artifices of Elizabeth. In England, the intrigues of the Catholics, and even the endeavours of the moſt diſintereſtedly patriotic among the Proteſtants, gave occaſion to a motion in the Parliament, to addreſs the Queen for the purpoſe of perſuading her to ſettle, in a manner conſiſtent with the nation's wiſhes, the orderof the ſucceſſion to the Crown: And it was univerſally deſired, that this order ſhould be ſo fixed, as to call Mary and her ſon to the throne, next after her envious couſin. The Reformers, although jealous of her intentions, and exceedingly enraged that ſhe ſhould have hitherto reſiſted all their efforts to convert her from Popery; yet, weak as they were, by the late diviſions and exile of their leaders, could not oppoſe any inſurmountable force, even of popularity and of opinion, to thwart her meaſures. The birth of her ſon had contributed more to confirm her authority, than all that her own and her huſband's miſconduct had hitherto done to impair it. But, the too familiar favour which ſhe ſhewed to Bothwell; her reſtoration of the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's,

to

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to his ancient jurisdiction, at Bothwell's request; and that generally unpopular tenor of conduct, which she now, in the most inconsiderate manner, pursued; were soon to make all her advantages of fortune and of talents alike unavailing to her *.

Bothwell was the leader of the Papistical party in the Scottish Court, the prime minister of Mary's power, and the favourite attendant, whose tender gallantries were openly admitted about her person. He had a young wife, the sister of the Earl of Huntley: But, the claims of such a Queen as Mary were, no doubt, to be preferred to those of his wife: And besides, he was not yet publicly accused of any guilty commerce with the Queen. Mary, while her amour with Bothwell advanced, put on, from time to time, the semblance of returning tenderness for her husband. But, having experienced, when it was too late, that she had deceived him by a shew of unreal fondness at the time of Rizzio's slaughter, Henry was no longer to be easily imposed upon, by empty professions and caresses. It should seem, that still, as she deviated farther from the observance of conjugal fidelity, she became so much the more anxious to exhibit the appearance of an entire reconciliation to her

She affects extraordinary tenderness for Henry.

* Melville: Knox, &c.

her lord. But, love and duty cannot well be counterfeited: The exceſſive fondneſs which hypocriſy affects, is ſufficient to betray the fraud. Beſides, Henry was hardly to be won to believe his Queen ſincere; unleſs ſhe would immediately confer on him thoſe honours, and that power, which he thought due to him, as her huſband; and would regulate her Court in a manner agreeable to his wiſhes. And yet ſo natural is it to the human mind, to yield to the aſſiduities of kindneſs, even when the ſincerity of that kindneſs is ſuſpected; that Henry was, by degrees, won to deliver himſelf, as it were, into Mary's hands, and to live again with her, in an intimate intercourſe, without precaution. No party was attached to him. There was none to warn him of any danger, with which he might be threatened. Had thoſe who diſliked the Queen and her favourites, been even willing to ſave him; they durſt not interpoſe: for Henry continually betrayed all his ſecrets to unfaithful ſervants whom he kept about him, and even to his enemies themſelves *.

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While things were in this poſture, the King fell into a languiſhing illneſs, which was ſuſpected to be the effect of a ſlow poiſon adminiſtered to him by Bothwell's directions, perhaps not without

Henry is enticed to Edinburgh.

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan, &c.

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out the privity of Mary herſelf. She pretended to watch fondly over him during his illneſs; and on pretence of this fondneſs, perſuaded him to accompany her from Glaſgow or its neighbourhood, where he then was, to Edinburgh, where it was requiſite that ſhe ſhould, at this time, principally reſide. He yielded to her perſuaſion. Bothwell, and Bothwell's friends, were ſtill the only perſons who enjoyed her favour; ſtill ſurrounded her perſon; ſtill ſhared and continued to inflame all her averſion for the King. Moray, Maitland, and Morton, acted but a ſecondary and inferior part at Court, and in the adminiſtration of the government. They hated Henry, becauſe he had betrayed them, had occaſioned the diſappointment of their hopes, and had indeed made himſelf indirectly the author of much of their preſent humiliation. But, his influence and his perſonal abilities were far too contemptible in their eyes, to leave it poſſible for them to regard him with any paſſionate ſentiments of fear or vengeance. Save only the Queen herſelf and Bothwell, all elſe, who were in the Court, felt, in regard to the King, only as politicians. Henry was, in theſe circumſtances, ſent to lodge at a houſe belonging to the provoſtry of the Church of St Mary's in the Field; which ſtood on a ſpot that is now included within the precincts of the College of Edinburgh.

Mary

Mary, for ſome days, remained there with Henry; and made a ſhew of being deeply intereſted for his entire recovery. But, while ſhe ſeemed to watch over him there with inexpreſſible fondneſs and anxiety: ſhe ſcrupled not to ſhare, at intervals, at her palace of Holyroodhouſe, in gay and feſtive amuſements, which could hardly have been agreeable to a tenderly affectionate wife, while the health and life of her huſband were in danger. She had ſlept for two nights in the ſame houſe where Henry now lay; and in an apartment immediately beneath his. But, on the evening of the ninth of February, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-ſeven, ſhe left that houſe, about eleven o'clock; and went to be preſent at a maſque, at Holyroodhouſe. About two o'clock in the enſuing morning, the houſe in which ſhe had left the King, was blown up with a ſudden exploſion, by gun-powder; alarming the inhabitants of the adjacent town to a great diſtance. When the effects of ſo awful a cataſtrophe, could be examined by thoſe whom the noiſe of the exploſion attracted thither; they perceived the edifice in a maſs of ruins; yet, to their extreme aſtoniſhment, found the body of the King, and of his ſervant, who uſually ſlept in his apartment, lying in the adjoining field, at ſome ſmall diſtance from the houſe, dead and naked, but without marks of injury

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received from fire. So very inconsiderately and clumsily had the murder of Henry been perpetrated! It was certainly the wish of the conspirators to make the conflagration of the house appear a sudden accident, arising from no human contrivance:—Yet, they destroyed it by an explosion that could not but betray their design and the means employed! It was their wish to make it seem as if Henry had perished by the explosion: Yet they did not reflect, that a body untouched by fire, could never wear the aspect of having had its life extinguished by burning*!

Character of Henry.

It is impossible to observe, without a smile of contempt, that historians have pompously and laboriously set themselves to delineate the character, and to comment upon the conduct of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, as if he had been a man mature in years, in understanding, in his passions and his moral habits. The truth is, that he is to be viewed in no other light, than as a spoiled boy, possessing the common qualities of inexperienced, flattered, fondled youth; but as yet so much a stranger in the great scenes of civil life; that it would be unfair, earnestly to impute to him any very heinous guilt, or extravagant folly. By his father and mother, he had been educated, as it should seem, with

* Buchanan; Melville; Knox, &c.

with that fooliſh indulgence by which the children of the great, are, in the courſe of their nominal education, too generally held in the condition of abſolute ſtrangers to themſelves, and to the duties of life. His firſt appearance at Mary's Court, is to be regarded in the ſame view, as the firſt ſally of a boy grown up to a ſtripling, from the ſchool, into the world. He ſhewed no incorrigible badneſs of heart, or meanneſs of talents: Otherwiſe, Moray and the other reformers would hardly have introduced him to Mary, as a man whom they wiſhed her to take for her huſband, and whom they had hopes to make the prime ſupport of the Preſbyterian cauſe. That extreme facility of diſpoſition by which he was prepared to be ſo eaſily won from the Preſbyterians to Mary, from Mary back again to the intereſts of Morton and his aſſociates, from them back, once more to his Queen,—was nothing more than the natural levity and openneſs of heart, which youth always diſplays. Had Darnley been ſo fortunate as to fall under the direction of perſons, honeſtly attached to his intereſts, he would probably have become, as he advanced in experience, a man of great worth, and of no mean talents. But, the greatneſs of his fortune expoſed him, from the firſt, to be made the prey of the vices of others, and the victim of their ſordid views of intereſt.

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He was introduced on the Scottiſh ſcene, to be made a tool in the hands of the chiefs of the Reformation. Political deſigns concurred with love, in winning Mary to make him the partner of her bed: *and ſhe alſo* ſtrove to make him in politics, and in his public conduct, an inſtrument entirely manageable at her pleaſure, and wholly ſubſervient to thoſe political views which ſhe was ambitious to advance. He was detached from her by perſons who *only pretended* to eſpouſe his intereſts. When ſhe allured him to betray his accomplices, ſhe had ceaſed to regard him with other ſentiments, than as his malignant foe. Abuſed, betrayed by all, he then, and not till then, became to all an object of ſettled deteſtation and contempt. Thus was he the victim in his reputation, as well as in his perſon, of the crimes of others, not his own. Moray, Mary, Morton, Bothwell, Rizzio, are to be regarded as the authors of thoſe crimes and follies which hiſtorians have imputed to the character of Darnley.—In Henry's character, indeed, we can perceive ſomewhat of the ficklenes and imbecillity of his father: And it is true, that the character of the ſon is very generally more or leſs like to that of his parents; a likeneſs not derived by deſcent, but caught by inſenſible imitation. An education conducted with fooliſh fondneſs, had done ſomewhat more,

to

to ſpoil his character. But, after all this, it was certainly probable at the time when he firſt viſited the Scottiſh Court; nay, even at his death; that, he might have become a prince of ſufficient wiſdom, and manly vigour of mind, if he had been ſpared to greater maturity of years.—Hiſtorians have condemned him with the ſame ſolemnity and aſperity, as if thoſe errors of conduct into which he fell between the ages of ſeventeen years and twenty-one, had been committed, rather between the ages of forty-five and fifty years. They have forgotten, that when he was cut off by a violent death, thoſe habits of thought and action were not yet formed, which would moſt probably have directed his conduct in the courſe of lengthened life. They have forgotten that he was good, and even not imprudent, wherever he was not outwitted and deceived by perſons more crafty and more experienced than himſelf.

Behaviour of Mary and Bothwell, after the murder.

At the palace of Holyroodhouſe, the news of the tragical end of Henry was received with an affectation of aſtoniſhment, indignation, and grief. Mary retired, without delay, to the caſtle, and there, amidſt the ceremonial formalities of widowed ſorrow, awaited the effects which ſo extraordinary an event might produce upon the

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the minds of the nation. The funeral of the murdered Prince was celebrated under the direction of Bothwell, with a haſte, and a privacy, which denied to his remains, almoſt every royal honour. Since it was vain to diſſemble, that he had periſhed by conſpiracy and violence; a proclamation was, by the Queen's command, iſſued, offering a high reward to whoſoever ſhould bring information and evidence to detect the authors of a crime ſo execrable. But, this pretended wiſh to diſcover the guilty, was, by the general ſentiments of the people, accounted inſincere: For, while their common cry already named Bothwell as the murderer; yet, none came forward to accuſe him, and to claim the proffered reward *.

Emotions felt thro' the nation, and by the Earl of Lennox.

Yet, the voice of general ſuſpicion and indignation was not thus to be ſuppreſſed. Papers, accuſing Bothwell of the guilty deed, and naming his accomplices, were expoſed to general obſervation, in the moſt public places of the city. The name of Mary was joined with that of Bothwell, under the imputation of the crime. Paintings, rudely repreſenting the act of the murder, in a manner that ſpoke to the feelings, with a power more impreſſive than that of

* Knox: Buchanan, &c.

of words, were, in a like manner, publicly exhibited. Voices, in the darkneſs of the night, were heard to imitate the hollow tones of a meſſenger from the regions of the dead, and to call for vengeance on the heads of Bothwell, and of the Queen. A general ferment ſoon pervaded the whole nation. All the worthy and the good of every denomination, found themſelves intereſted to demand an inquiry into the circumſtances of a crime ſo nefarious, and perpetrated upon one of the two principal perſons in the kingdom. The examinations, the purſuits, and whatever other ſteps Bothwell and his creatures pretended to take for the purpoſe of detecting and puniſhing the regicides, were conducted in a manner which tended much more to irritate than to ſatisfy and allay ſuſpicion. None of the diſtinguiſhed nobles of any party, were, indeed, ſo much intereſted in the fate of the murdered Prince, or in the fortunes and general welfare of the family of Lennox, as to be willing to take, in oppoſition to Bothwell's bold activity and power, an eager part in bringing the murderers to juſtice. But, a father could not, unmoved, ſee his ſon thus unfortunately periſh. Lennox, although weak and timid, was excited to expoſtulate with Mary, to bring an open accuſation againſt Bothwell,

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well, and to demand a public trial for the investigation of this proud Earl's guilt *.

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The demand of the Earl of Lennox, could not be, by his daughter-in-law, eluded or refuſed. After an attempt to perſuade him to agree to delay the trial till the national Parliament could be aſſembled; ſhe conſented to haſten the neceſſary proceedings, in compliance with his wiſhes. Bothwell, when he ſaw that an inquiry was not to be avoided, made as if a trial were what he rather courted than feared. Huntley and Athole, the leaders of the one faction, with Moray, Morton, and Maitland, the heads of the other, were, all, perſons who loſt nothing by the murder of the King, and were therefore not at all intereſted to avenge his cauſe. To the Preſbyterian chiefs, eſpecially, Bothwell had lately been the author of ſo many favours, and Henry had given ſo much cauſe of offence, that they could have no reaſon, in common policy, to avenge the former by attempting to atchieve the overthrow of the latter. As poſſeſſing a ſpacious earldom, as Lord-lieutenant of the Eaſtern marches, as the favourite and prime-miniſter of the Queen, as the head of the Catholic party; Bothwell was in poſſeſſion of a degree of power, which Moray and Morton

Preparations for the trial of Bothwell.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

ton might hope to overthrow. In the only two instances in which the leaders of the Reformers had dared to oppose the Queen, they had found her talents, her address, her popularity, easily sufficient to triumph over their opposition. Nothing therefore but public indignation stood forth to encourage and assist the revenge of Lennox. To strengthen the hands of Bothwell, Mary procured the Earl of Marre to resign to him the command of the castle of Edinburgh, even at no less a price than that of intrusting to Marre, the custody of the person of her infant son. All those nobles whom Bothwell or Mary feared, had only to name those terms on which they would support Bothwell, in order to obtain them. It was not difficult to persuade a body of men, of whom even the best was actuated by no better principles than cold political passions, and views of self-interest, to stand aloof from the opening contest between Lennox—and Bothwell the suspected murderer of his son *.

Lennox had demanded an early day for the trial; partly because his indignant and sorrowful feelings would not brook the tædium of a delay, till the Parliament should assemble; in part because he suspected, that the interme-

* Melville: Buchanan, &c.

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diate time might enable Bothwell so to strengthen himself, as that he might then bid defiance to justice. But, Bothwell already possessed that power, which his adversary wished to preclude him from acquiring. Secure of acquittal, he demanded an early trial with the same apparent impatience as his accuser. A meeting of the Queen's Privy Council, held on the twenty-eighth day of March, appointed the twelfth of April to be the day of the trial. Bothwell, although the person accused, was permitted to assist, as a counsellor, in the regulation of a measure in which he was to be subjected to the examination of justice, as a criminal. Lennox, summoned to come forward, on the appointed day, and exhibit the proofs of his accusation, was quickly aware, that this extraordinary haste augured at least as ill for him, as that evasive delay of which he had before complained. It was necessary to provide powerful friends, and a great force of armed vassals, no less than to prepare the evidence by which he meant to prove the imputed guilt. But, when Lennox looked around him, for friends to support his cause, he saw himself to stand solitary and friendless, as if in a strange land. The Hamiltons, the near relations to his house, were also its rivals in the hopes of the royal succession, and rejoiced to see those advantages blasted,

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Trial and acquittal of Bothwell.

blasted, by which their kinsmen of the family of Lennox had been raised to a proud superiority above themselves. It was vain to expect, that a sense of honour and of justice, should draw Moray and Morton to espouse the cause of a person whom they despised and hated, in opposition to the Queen and Bothwell, to whose interests they had lately attached themselves, and whom they could not yet hope to overthrow. Even the vassals on Lennox's own domains, were far from being sufficiently ready to support a master whose long absence at a foreign Court had, in a great measure, estranged their affections from his person. With considerations of prudence, a wavering timidity, natural to his character, also concurred: And he began to dread, that if he should, by appearing in Edinburgh to prosecute the trial, put himself within the power of his enemies; violence not less daring than that by which his son had perished, might be employed to interrupt for ever all the efforts of his revenge. His fears and anxieties were enhanced, when he learned, that every means had been employed to deter those by whom the first cry of Bothwell's guilt had been raised, from persisting in their evidence; and that James Moray, brother to the Baron of Tullibairden, had already been, on this sole account, proscribed as a traitor. What, indeed,

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must have been his emotions, when he learned, that his widowed daughter-in-law ſtill continued to intruſt with the prime adminiſtration of her power, to admit to familiar acceſs about her perſon, to countenance with every degree of favour, that could tend to increaſe his credit,—the man who was loudly accuſed of her huſband's murder, who was known to have been his enemy, whom no judicial ſentence had as yet acquitted, on whom her father-in-law had, in all the anguiſh of indignation and ſorrow, demanded juſtice? It could be nothing but the mad effrontery of vice, it was impoſſible that it ſhould be the ſerene confidence of innocence, which directed Mary in this plan of conduct. However hopeleſs of redreſs, and of juſt vengeance, Lennox advanced from his caſtle in an iſlet of Lochlomond, as far as to Stirling, on his way to proſecute Bothwell's trial. All the diſintereſted populace, and a very great proportion of the Preſbyterians with their clergy, were indeed ſtill earneſt in their clamours for vengeance upon the murderer: And had they not been more warmly attached to Moray and Morton, the heads of their party, than to truth and juſtice, Lennox might, with their aid, have made the guilty tremble. But, amidſt their preſent partialities and party-connections, from them there could be no effectual ſupport expected.

pected. At Stirling, therefore, Lennox halted, yielded to the perſuaſions of his friends, determined not to truſt himſelf in the hands of his enemies, wrote to Mary to demand a delay of the trial,—to Elizabeth, to complain, that it was prematurely haſtened out of guilty favour to the criminal, authoriſed one of his ſervants to repair to Edinburgh, and to proteſt, in his name, againſt its immediate proſecution,—and thus remained at a convenient diſtance, to await the event. His excuſes and demands for delay, were, with Mary and her Council, wholly unavailing. Elizabeth, however willing to interpoſe, received not the letters of Lennox, till it was too late for her interpoſition to anticipate the trial which he deprecated. On the appointed day, the Juſticiary Court aſſembled. Bothwell was eſcorted through the ſtreets of the city, and to the bar, by a numerous attendance of his friends and vaſſals, and even by a band of hired ſoldiers. Robert Cunningham, in the name of his maſter the Earl of Lennox, proteſted that the Court ſhould not then proceed in the trial. Bothwell, although even the parade of armed retinue, with which he was ſurrounded, ſufficiently juſtified the fears of his accuſer, yet inſiſted, that the Court ſhould no longer leave him under the reproach of unaſcertained guilt. Perhaps they deſired not, it was moſt certainly, not

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not within their power, to gratify the demands of Lennox and of juſtice, in oppoſition to the urgency of Bothwell. To proceed to try, was, in theſe circumſtances, to acquit him. No ſooner had the jury of his peers, rejecting the excuſes of Cunningham, declared themſelves unable to attribute guilt to the accuſed, ſince there was no evidence produced by the accuſer,—than Bothwell, to make up for what might ſeem to be wanting in legality to the trial, publiſhed a general challenge, provoking to ſingle combat, whoever ſhould henceforth dare to impute to him the crime of which he was acquitted. Lennox, as the challenger was well aware, would not meet him in ſingle combat. None anſwered the defiance. The Court and Queen loaded him with congratulations and careſſes, as being now happily and perfectly vindicated from a cruel and unjuſt charge. But, the nation at large, viewed theſe tranſactions with different eyes. Mankind in general, are, by the common principles of their nature, at all times, inclined to ſympathiſe rather with the weaker and the ſuffering party, even when that party is in the wrong. In the preſent inſtance, the overbearing inſolence of Bothwell's conduct, concurred with the ſtrong ſuſpicions univerſally entertained of his guilt, to make the hearts of all the Scottiſh populace,

populace, ardently eſpouſe, in oppoſition to him, the ſlighted cauſe of Lennox, and of his murdered ſon *.

Meeting of the parliament.

Within two days after Bothwell's acquittal, the Parliament aſſembled. They were barons of the Catholic party, of the partizans and adherents of Bothwell, of the perſonal friends of Mary, who attended in it, in the greateſt numbers. The meaſures which came under its deliberation, and the acts which it paſſed, were intended chiefly to exculpate Bothwell and Mary from the imputation of having murdered the King, and to ſupport that ſyſtem of meaſures which the Court had, for ſome time, purſued. Ample gratifications were beſtowed on the leaders of all parties. It is evident, that the price was thus paid for the compliance and connivance which Bothwell and Mary had already found in the atchievements of their guilty career. Bothwell himſelf was, by the deed of this Parliament, confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all thoſe high offices which he already enjoyed. The reſtoration of the Earls of Huntley and Sutherland, to their forfeited eſtates and honours, was equally ratified. The Earls of Marre, Morton, Angus, and Caithneſs, were alſo gratified by various favours from the

* Knox: Melville: Hume of Godſcroft: Buchanan, &c.

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the Crown. All was unanimity and joy. It ſeemed as if nothing had been wanted, except the death of Henry, and the exaltation of Bothwell, to make all the Scottiſh nobles at one among themſelves, and cordially loyal to their Sovereign. Bold in this general ſucceſs, Mary and her counſellors ventured, at the ſame time, to evade the petitions and remonſtrances of the Preſbyterian clergy; and to treat their religion as one that could, at the utmoſt, deſerve little more than barely ſufferance. To conſummate the guilt and proſperity of Bothwell, and at the ſame time the baſeneſs of thoſe who, for ſelfiſh views of private intereſt, made themſelves acceſſories to his guilt, there was yet another deed to be obtained from the leaders of both parties *.

Bothwell recommended by the nobles, to be the Queen's huſband.

Not to be the paramour, but the huſband of Mary, was the natural object of Bothwell's ambition. To Mary, it could not but ſeem, that the decent reſpects of life would not permit her to live in a ſtate of concubinage, with one of her ſubjects. Henry had fallen in vain, if his death were not to make room for the exaltation of her new lover to the nuptial bed of Mary. The honours, the offices, the emoluments already beſtowed on Bothwell, were a compenſation

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

compenſation far too petty and mean for the guilty darings by which he had delivered Mary from a hated huſband. They were utterly unworthy of that love with which ſhe regarded him. If it were, as yet too much to hope for the ſolemn parliamentary recommendation of a marriage, to be contracted between Bothwell and Mary; a more private, yet not leſs powerful recommendation of this meaſure might be more eaſily obtained. The fear of Elizabeth, or a regard to what might be the judgement of foreign Courts and nations, could not have the ſame influence with the Scottiſh nobles, in a private and convivial meeting, as in their Parliamentary aſſembly. Immediately after the diſſolution of the parliament, therefore, Bothwell invited the principal nobles of whom it was compoſed, to a great entertainment. Several among them were, as his confidential friends, privy to the purpoſe with which it was made, and were prepared to aſſiſt in the accompliſhment of his intention. When the company were warm with wine, and all began to ſpeak loudly in the praiſe of their entertainer, Bothwell and his conſidants were then ready to ſeize the favourable moments. The name of the murdered Henry was mentioned with contemptuous virulence: His follies, and thoſe diſſenſions in which he had been made an agent, were reſentfully imputed to him: His

The Scottiſh nobles adviſe Mary to marry Bothwell.

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death was mentioned, with exultation, as lucky and seasonable. Bothwell was then applauded, as the friend of all parties, the liberal rewarder of the merits of all, the reconciler of those differences which had so long divided the Scottish nobility, the only man whose talents for business, and his favour with the Queen, made him fully equal to the future administration of the government. When all this had been heard with general approbation; it was then artfully added, that Mary desired to make him her husband; that she loved him with the most passionate ardour; that only the consent of the nobles,—of the assembly present, was wanted, to their speedy union. In company with one another, heated with wine, in the flow of conversation, and in the openness of affections which such society and conversation are apt to produce, men will agree to many things, as one flock or body, to which they would not separately and individually consent. The two parties, the Papal and the Presbyterian, were each afraid of throwing Bothwell and the Queen, into the scale of their opponents, if either of them should refuse what was now requested. Bothwell's own personal friends had already led the cry. Those whose pure loyalty or personal attachments devoted them in a particular manner to the interests of Mary herself, fancied, that the mischief was

was too far gone, to be now prevented by any efforts of theirs. Favours already received, or ſanguinely expected, had their weight with others. The timid, and thoſe who were in a ſituation of dependence, were led away by the example of the bold, of the independent, and of thoſe who had a reputation for wiſdom. It had been the uſual policy of the Scottiſh nobles to make very little difficulty in ratifying any general meaſure with their common conſent; but, when that meaſure was to be executed or obeyed,—then to reſpect or diſregard it, juſt as humour or intereſt might happen, for the moment, to perſuade. Influenced by all this variety of motives; carried away by one general impulſe; perhaps not without fears of what, if thwarted, a bold, flagitious man, like Bothwell, might attempt againſt their perſonal ſafety;—all this aſſembly of nobles conſented with one voice, to recommend it to the Queen, to take the Earl of Bothwell for her huſband. A ſolemn deed of this purport, was written out, and ſubſcribed by them. To Bothwell and the Queen, this writing would naturally appear to be of the ſame importance, as if it had given a full parliamentary ſanction to their marriage. With the nobles who ſubſcribed it, and with the nation in general, it appears to have had little other effect, than to open their eyes upon the full

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extent of the guilt of Mary, and the ambition of her paramour, and to excite them to concert new intrigues againſt the favourite's ſucceſs. Poſſeſſing this *recommendation*, to juſtify them in the eyes of foreign nations, Mary and Bothwell appear to have, from this time, thought, only of haſtening their nuptial union*.

Riſing oppoſition to Bothwell.

From the æra of this great tranſaction, commenced a new oppoſition to the daring enterpriſes of Bothwell, and to the raſh views of the Queen. The popular voice aroſe ſtill more loudly indignant againſt that Earl's crimes, as he ſeemed to advance more nearly to reap the fruits of them. Public opinion could be neither awed, nor bribed into ſilence. The conduct of Bothwell appeared to ſet all cenſure at defiance; ſince he had been able to overawe a court of juſtice, to outbrave the pious revenge of Lennox, to win by intrigue the whole nobles to his ſide, and to make himſelf ſecurely maſter of the affections of his Queen. While the chief among the nobles indignantly withdrew from the Court, ſome of thoſe who yet remained, began, with very great earneſtneſs, to diſſuade Mary from the deſtined marriage. News of the diſapprobation with

* Anderſon, vol. i. p. 89. 98. &c.

with which her recent conduct was universally viewed by foreigners; with the warm remonſtrances which her ſecret friends in England, and thoſe whom ſhe moſt venerated in France, tranſmitted againſt her kindneſs to Bothwell; concurred at the ſame time, to enforce what was urged by her faithful ſervants at home. Moray, having gained whatever he could gain by favouring Bothwell, unwilling to lend his countenance farther to this minion's crimes, aware that the meaſure of Mary's errors and follies, was not yet ſo filled up as that he might drag from the throne, to a priſon, and afraid leſt the dark, atrocious ſoul of Bothwell might ſoon think *his* life not leſs neceſſary to be cut ſhort, than had been that of Henry; had already choſen to retire out of a country in which he could not but foreſee, that ſome extraordinary and tumultuous events were ſoon to take place. Maitland, and Sir James Melville, remaining in the Court, ſtrove, not without incurring great danger from the wrath of Bothwell, to divert the Queen from making him her huſband. The other chiefs of the Preſbyterians now fomented,—while they ſeemed reluctantly to yield to,—the indignation with which the whole nation agreed to brand this bad man's crimes. Since Henry was no more,

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more, all his weakneſſes and errors were forgotten; and Bothwell occupying the moſt obnoxious of all ſituations, naturally became the object of an odium which there ſeemed to be now no rival or colleague, ſave the Queen herſelf, to ſhare with him. In theſe circumſtances, and although poſſeſſing the bond which Bothwell had extorted from the nobles; they durſt not openly proceed to celebrate their marriage. A colluſive divorce from Huntley's ſiſter, the former wife of Bothwell, was eaſily to be obtained by him. But, Mary durſt not yet, in the face of the whole nation, and at the riſk of rendering herſelf infamous in the eyes of all foreign princes, accept the murderer of Henry, for her ſecond huſband. The bold flagitious mind of her paramour, ſoon contrived an expedient for ſurmounting theſe difficulties. It was no ſooner concerted between them, than they haſtened to carry it into execution *.

Within three days after the diſſolution of the late parliament, and the ſubſcription of the deed, by which Mary was adviſed to give her hand to Bothwell; the Queen ſet out from Edinburgh to Stirling, there to viſit the infant Prince,

* Melville: Knox: Buchanan, &c.

Prince, her ſon. Bothwell, as Lieutenant of the Eaſtern Marches, had a conſiderable military force always ready under his command. With a thouſand armed followers mounted on horſeback, he intercepted Mary on her return, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow; diſperſed the comparatively ſlender train by which ſhe was eſcorted; and ſeizing her royal perſon, probably as had been before concerted between them; conducted her, *nothing loath*, with ſome few others of her courtiers, to the caſtle of Dunbar. In the caſtle of Dunbar, ſhe yielded herſelf, under the pretence of inability to reſiſt the violence which he offered,—to his adulterous embraces. For twelve days ſhe remained there, forgetful of all but the preſent moments and the raptures of licentious love. Awakening from the delirium of guilty pleaſure, they then prepared to take openly the neceſſary ſteps for their immediate matrimonial union. A ſuit of divorce commenced both in the Papal and the Preſbyterian Courts, between Bothwell and his former Counteſs, was quickly brought to the deſired iſſue. Mary was, after a decent time, conducted back by the pretended raviſher to Edinburgh; and there, together with Bothwell, for a time, took up her reſidence, not at Holyroodhouſe, but in the caſtle, as a place of greater ſecurity. Soon after, however, ſhe preſented

Bothwell carries the Queen to Dunbar.

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sented herſelf before the Court of Seſſion; declared that ſhe was no longer involuntarily detained a priſoner by Bothwell; ſlightly mentioned the violence which he had done her, but dwelt with fondneſs on the praiſe of his ſubſequent courteſy, reſpect, and kindneſs; and expreſſed her ſenſe of his ſervices to be ſo grateful and ſo high, that ſhe had determined not only to grant a full pardon to him and his accomplices, of their crime againſt her perſon, but even to advance him to new and more illuſtrious honours. An ample pardon of every crime that could be imputed to him, was therefore without delay formally granted to the fortunate Earl. He was next created Duke of Orkney. The ceremony of marriage was ſoon after, formally celebrated between him and Mary,—in public, according to the forms of the Proteſtant religion,—in private, agreeably to the ceremonial of the Romiſh Church. Mary reſigned her perſon, and her power entirely into his hands. If he were without the name of King; he was, however, authoriſed by her fondneſs, to ſign all public deeds, in common with herſelf. To confirm his power, there ſeemed to be little wanting, ſave that he ſhould obtain into his cuſtody, the perſon of the young Prince, who remained ſtill under the faithful guardianſhip of Erſkine, Earl of Marre. Marre's abhorrence of

of Bothwell's character, and his faithful loyalty, in ſpite of every artifice and every menace, preſerved the royal infant's life from being expoſed to danger, in thoſe hands by which his father's years were ſuppoſed to have been wickedly ſhortened *.

Mary's guilt.

But, what part acted Mary in all this dark train of events? Endowed with talents for buſineſs and for intrigue, which her paſſions alone prevented from greatly excelling thoſe of every other female of the age; it is not to be ſuppoſed, that ſhe could be in theſe preſent inſtances, entirely paſſive. Her diſdainful hatred of her late huſband, aroſe from ſlighted love, from indignant reſentment of his wiſhes to abridge her power, from contempt for the weakneſs of his mental abilities. It ſeems probable, that her paſſion for Bothwell, muſt have been very plainly betrayed, before even that bold, flagitious Earl would dare to addreſs her in the language of paſſion; for Mary was not a woman to be treated as a ſimpleton. A propoſal of procuring a divorce between her and her huſband, made by Bothwell and his aſſociates, perhaps firſt ſuggeſted to Mary's mind, the idea of the happineſs which ſhe might enjoy, if for

* Knox: Keith: Buchanan, &c.

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ever ſeparated from Henry. But, this way was tedious and difficult; and Mary wanted not diſcernment to remark all its difficulties. The atrocious mind of Bothwell, no doubt, firſt propoſed the idea of delivering Mary from a huſband whom ſhe hated, by means more ſpeedy and effectual than divorce. Whether the project of the murder were only hinted or were directly propoſed to Mary, it was impoſſible, that Bothwell would ever have dared to perpetrate it, without having previouſly the ſtrongeſt aſſurance, that her mind might be eaſily reconciled to it. Of this, he could hardly well aſſure himſelf, without having been, before, admitted to her guilty embraces, without having obtained her expreſs conſent. He well knew Mary to be fickle, deeply reſentful, and poſſeſſed of talents ſufficient to reſcue her from being the ſlave of any minion whom ſhe hated or deſpiſed. He knew, that the other nobles of her Court, whatever their pretended preſent attachment to his intereſts, would eagerly deſert and drag him to deſtruction, if they ſhould but once perceive him to totter in the ſlighteſt degree, in the Queen's favour. He was himſelf too bad a man, to truſt to aught but the neceſſities and the bad principles of others. Beſides, Mary's abilities were too great, to ſuffer her to be in this ſo important inſtance, hoodwinked

winked and impoſed upon. Perſonally intereſted, as ſhe herſelf at this time was, in all that Bothwell did, and in all that concerned him; ſhe would be unable to refrain from watching, with the moſt anxious vigilance, whatever was undertaken by him, or ſuffered by Henry. Had ſhe not been privy to Bothwell's crime, ſhe would not have failed to reſent it, when the voice of ſo many of her own ſubjects, and even of all Europe, loudly called for this reſentment. Had ſhe not been aware of Bothwell's guilt, the fatal end of her huſband could not have failed to awaken in her boſom, for him, all her former tenderneſs. The meaſures which Bothwell employed to overawe juſtice, at his trial, would have enraged her as encroachments on her royal authority. The artifice by which he obtained the recommendation of the nobles, in order to perſuade her to make him her huſband, would have rendered her his irreconcileable foe. No conſiderations of delicacy would have prevented her from bringing her preſumptuous ſubject to periſh on the ſcaffold, as ſoon as ſhe could make her eſcape out of his hands, after the rape at Dunbar. Mary was a woman of ſuch talents, ſo much energy of mind, and ſo little of filly, feminine weakneſs, that ſhe cannot poſſibly have been the mere paſſive means of Bothwell's ambition,

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and the victim of his crimes, to that degree to which we muſt believe her to have been, if we would ſuppoſe her innocent. Injured as ſhe was at Dunbar, ſhe would not, if innocent, have heſitated to treat the raviſher, as Chatellard, as Moray when he oppoſed her former marriage, as the conſpirators againſt Rizzio, had been, by her almoſt implacable reſentment and revenge, already treated *.

A league for the puniſhment of Bothwell.

The meaſure of the crimes of Bothwell and his miſtreſs ſeemed in the eyes of almoſt all the Scottiſh nobles, to be now full. He had riſen to an eminence of power and external honour, on which if he ſhould be confirmed, he might probably cruſh all who were either feared or hated by him. His exultation, his furious threats, his inſolence, were fitted to make almoſt every one who approached him, in the Queen's Court, his foe. The Queen of England, and the general voice of foreign nations, had condemned the late conduct of Mary, and had avowed their abhorrence of her paramour, with an explicit openneſs and deciſion, which ſeemed not only to encourage the Scottiſh Barons, but even indignantly to call upon them, to riſe in arms, and drag an infamous murderer from the throne, and from the bed of their Sovereign.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

Sovereign. That ſeries of flagitious deeds, which Bothwell had perpetrated, had raiſed againſt him the abhorrence of all the pious and virtuous throughout Scotland, and eſpecially among the Preſbyterians, even to the utmoſt height. The Preſbyterians had no longer aught to expect from Bothwell or from Mary, in favour of the final extirpation of that Popery which they deteſted; and could not, therefore, be longer diſpoſed to wink at his vices and crimes, on account of any advantages which they might hope to derive from his adminiſtration. Bothwell's abilities, alſo, were, amidſt all his profligacy, too conſiderable to leave to Morton, Maitland, and the other men of activity in buſineſs, belonging to the Preſbyterian faction,—any room to expect that they ſhould be able to make him merely a petty engine in their own hands. All the barons of this party, and even very many of their Catholic opponents, had, in indignation, retired from the Court; leaving Bothwell and Mary in comparative ſolitude.—In this ſtate of affairs, a combination was quickly formed, to riſe in arms againſt the Queen and Bothwell, and purſue this aſpiring Earl to immediate deſtruction, in puniſhment of his ambitious crimes. Moray was abſent in France. But the Earls of Argyle, Athole, Morton, Marre, and Glencairn; the Lords

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Lords Hume, Semple, and Lindsay; Kirkaldy of Grange, Moray of Tullibairden, Maitland of Lethington; were the leaders in this combination. At Stirling they held a convention: And it was there the result of their deliberations, to call forth, without delay, their respective vassals and retainers, to muster an army, to march against Bothwell and the Queen *.

Progress of the insurrection.

Aware of their purposes and movements, Mary and her husband now endeavoured, by proclamations, to vindicate the transactions of her government, and by earnest declarations of her respect for the interests of the state, and for the welfare of the Prince, her son, to break the force of the gathering storm, and to assemble around herself, an army of loyal subjects, by which the enterprises of the insurgent nobles might yet be defeated. But, Marre, who had the custody of the Prince's person, was among the conspirators; and *they* might, therefore, oppose the authority of young James's name to that of his mother. Their troops were soon ready in arms; and they prepared to march, before the Queen and Bothwell could assemble a force sufficient to resist them. The Castle of Edinburgh might have afforded to Mary, a secure retreat, till the necessities of subsistence should

* Spottiswood, p. 204. &c.

ſhould have again diſperſed their ill-appointed and tumultuary army. But, Sir James Balfour, whom Bothwell had made its deputy-governor, had been tampered with, by the inſurgent nobles, and had loſt his patron's confidence. While the confederate Lords were underſtood to be upon their march from Stirling to Edinburgh, Bothwell, leaving Huntley to defend the town, conducted away the Queen to the Caſtle of Borthwick. From Borthwick, fearful for his perſonal ſafety, he quickly fled to Dunbar, whither the Queen in diſguiſe haſtily followed him. Eaſily making themſelves maſters of Edinburgh, the nobles there emitted a proclamation, to explain the motives upon which they had taken up arms, to expoſe to inflamed indignation and horror, all the crimes of Bothwell, to call the whole nation to riſe in arms for the purpoſes of puniſhing the murderer of Henry the father, and of preventing the murder of the young Prince, James, his ſon. It was more than inſinuated, that, except the immediate overthrow of Bothwell, nothing elſe could ſave the Prince from being cut off by *his* artifices, in order to make way for the final exaltation of himſelf and his poſterity to the throne. The tide of popular favour now ran high for the confederacy, and againſt the Queen and her huſband. Lord Hume had almoſt made Bothwell

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well and Mary priſoners in Borthwick-caſtle. New partizans came continually in, to take part in proſecuting the public vengeance againſt that great and obnoxious criminal. While Bothwell and the Queen, not without difficulty, muſtered an army of about four thouſand men; and marched, perhaps with inconſiderate impatience, back from Dunbar to Gladſmuir; the nobles leaving Edinburgh, proceeded as far as Muſſelburgh, to intercept the royal army on its march. It is remarkable, that the talents of Bothwell, however equal to artful and flagitious crimes, began to ſhrink and to betray him, when an occaſion requiring extraordinary vigour, and active energy of mind, now aroſe. The Queen herſelf now found it neceſſary to reſume the aſcendency. She advanced from Gladſmuir, with an eagerneſs which ſhewed more of ſpirit and activity than of prudence. A proclamation was again made public by her, in which ſhe exculpated Bothwell from the guilt of having murdered Henry, or of holding herſelf in unwilling captivity; accuſed the nobles of rebellion, excited merely to gratify their private reſentment and ambition; and reproached them as detaining the perſon of her ſon, and pretending a concern for his ſafety, merely in order that they might, by his means, and by ſuch artifices, wreſt the ſceptre from her hands. Could

Could ſhe have inſpired Bothwell with the confidence and the ardent courage of innocence; could ſhe have made her own followers eagerly loyal, as they once had been in her cauſe; or had ſhe but avoided meeting the confederates, till their firſt ardour had cooled, and till their firſt union had begun to break into diſſenſion; ſhe might, even now, perhaps have been ſucceſsful againſt inſurrection, as ſhe before had been *.

Near Muſſelburgh, the two armies, that of the Queen, and that of the confederates, found themſelves ſo nigh to each other, that the hour of battle could not be long delayed. Bothwell, and under him, the Lords Seton, Yeſter, and Borthwick, led on the royal troops: Mary herſelf ſtrove to animate and inſpire them all. Morton, Hume, Athole, Marre, Glencairne, and other Lords, were the leaders of the confederates. Du Croc, the French ambaſſador, was with the Queen, but haſtened to interpoſe as a common friend between the two hoſts. His mediation was haughtily ſlighted by the inſurgent Lords. Their hearts boiled with reſentment; they knew their advantages; they would liſten to no terms of pacification, unleſs Bothwell ſhould be firſt delivered into

* Buchanan: Knox: Spottiſwood, &c.

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their hands. Meanwhile, although posted on an eminence, on which the advantage of the ground was plainly theirs, the Queen's troops betrayed an unwillingness to engage, and a want of confidence in their chief commander, and in the justice of their cause. Bothwell strove in vain to rouse and encourage them. The Queen herself, riding through their ranks, and calling on their loyalty and valour, with a voice which, in a better cause, could hardly have failed of success; was little more fortunate than her husband, in effecting her purpose. The confederates with their followers came on, with a slow march, but with an air of awful firmness. Bothwell, to encourage the royal army, by an ostentation of valour in himself, rode forward between the two fronts, and challenged any knight of the adverse host, to decide the cause with him, in single combat. The challenge was no sooner heard, than Moray of Tullibairden, and the gallant Kirkcaldy of Grange, rushed indignant forward to accept it. When, on pretence that neither of these two was his equal in rank, he avoided fighting with either; the Lord Lindsay eagerly offered himself as an antagonist, whose rank the Earl of Bothwell could not, in reason, disdain. The Queen interposing her command, saved the recreant valour of her

her huſband from being tried againſt Lindſay, and poſitively forbade the combat. But, by this time, ſhe was reduced to ſuch a dilemma, that ſhe could neither give battle with hopes of ſucceſs, nor make her eſcape. No choice remained for her, but to capitulate. Bothwell was not aſhamed to ſee her become the captive of her foes, without ſtriking a blow to ſave her from this humiliating fate, or to ſave himſelf from the ruin which was neceſſarily to enſue to him. Demanding, therefore, an interview with the brave Kirkcaldy of Grange, a man whom ſhe ſeems to have believed incapable of violating his plighted faith; ſhe ſurrendered herſelf into his hands, on condition; that, diſmiſſing Bothwell, ſhe ſhould again be honoured by the confederate Lords, as their Queen, and ſhould be obliged only to govern her kingdom in a manner agreeable to their counſels. Bothwell, taking his laſt farewell, departed in haſte, and unmoleſted, from the ſcene, with a very few followers. Mary was conducted by Kirkcaldy, to the preſence of the other confederate chiefs, and within the ranks of their army. Her own forces were diſbanded. As ſhe rode on, no tongue bade "God "bleſs her!" She heard nought but the voice of execration and reproach. Trembling at the

Mary, a captive.

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angry words, and the menacing looks and gestures of the surrounding multitude, she intreated, but with little effect, the interposition of Kirkcaldy and of Maitland, to save her from their reproaches and threats. Wherever she turned her eyes, their banners held out to her view, represented—the body of her murdered husband extended lifeless on the ground, and before it her infant son kneeling in prayer to heaven, and supplicating vengeance on his father's murderers. The nobles were too much pleased with their own success, and too indifferent to whatever might be her painful feelings, to interest themselves in any very earnest manner, to restrain those injuries which were now offered to her. Nor were the exulting, indignant feelings of the mob to be by any means restrained from thus expressing themselves. Amidst the insolent acclamations of the populace, she was conducted into he town of Edinburgh, and was there lodged, not at her own palace or in the castle, but in the provost's house.

Mary now felt all the misery of her situation. Lately mistress of one kingdom, and heiress apparent to another; enjoying a popularity, and possessing talents for intrigue, which were

were ſufficient to ſecure her againſt all the machinations of her foes: ſhe had ſuffered her guilty paſſions to betray her into a ſituation in which all her advantages ſeemed to be forfeited. She called on the honour, the loyalty, and the humanity of thoſe nobles into whoſe hands ſhe had confided her perſon; and demanded of them, to conduct her to her palace, and to reſtore her to her royal authority. The populace with the uſual ficklenes of their paſſions; began apparently to ſympathiſe in her diſtreſs. Even of the nobles themſelves, there were ſeveral who wiſhed faithfully to perform thoſe conditions which had been ſtipulated, when Mary made herſelf their captive. Kirkcaldy, to whoſe honour ſhe had ſurrendered herſelf, abhorred every idea of the treacherous violation of plighted faith. She was therefore, in the firſt inſtance, conducted to Holyroodhouſe, but ſtill under a ſtrong guard, and without having even any ſemblance of authority reſtored to her. Morton and thoſe who had been formerly concerned with him in the enterpriſe againſt Rizzio, too well knew, that, if they ſhould ſet her but for a moment at liberty, or ſhould reſtore her to any ſhare of her former authority; ſhe would not fail again to excit all her wonted activity and energy, to call her loyal ſubjects to her aid, and once more

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more to fruſtrate whatever ambitious hopes they had conceived amidſt their inſurrection. They knew, that they could not be ſafe, if the ſmalleſt ſhare of power or liberty ſhould be left to her. It was, therefore, ſoon determined by them, to confine her a priſoner for life. No little craft and artifice were required to win thoſe to agree to this determination, in whoſe breaſts honour and loyalty had more power than political wiſdom. But, Morton and his aſſociates were not men to refuſe to have recourſe to this craft. To overcome the ſcruples of Kirkcaldy's honour, a letter from the Queen to Bothwell, genuine or forged, was preſented to him, and was ſaid to have been intercepted in the hands of her ſecret meſſenger. Kirkaldy was confounded and ſilenced by the ſight of this letter. He could no longer refuſe to agree that at leaſt, while Bothwell was alive, the Queen ſhould be detained in ſtrict cuſtody. She was forthwith conveyed to the ſtrong caſtle of Lochleven, and there placed in the hands of William Douglas, its governor, whoſe wife had been the miſtreſs of James the Fifth, and was mother to the Earl of Moray. Kirkcaldy, ſtill faithful to his plighted honour, was impatient to deliver the Queen from ſuch humiliation and diſtreſs. With eager ſpeed, therefore, he fitted out two ſhips, and purſued Bothwell to the

the Orkneys, to which he had already taken his flight. Bothwell narrowly escaped his pursuit, fled to Denmark, and after a series of piratical adventures, at last terminated his guilty life in extreme disgrace and wretchedness. While the generous and gallant Kirkcaldy was absent upon this enterprise; Morton and his principal associates formed themselves into a regency, under the denomination of the *Lords of the Secret Council;* set themselves to punish all the accomplices in the murder which they had rebelled to avenge; and eagerly sought, perhaps fabricated new proofs, which, by implicating Mary in the blackest crimes of Bothwell, were to justify the harshest and boldest measures they could employ against her. With them eagerly co-operated the reforming clergy, who could not obtain security for the permanent establishment of their religion, by any other means so certainly as by the ruin of the Queen. In vain did the Hamiltons, with a considerable body of the nobles who were not confidential accomplices in the plans and views of Morton, attempt to mitigate the fate of Mary, and to overawe those who prosecuted her with enmity so violent, and so self-interested. Their disunion, and their want of some presiding mind to give combination and energy

to

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to their efforts, ſoon fruſtrated all their attempts. In vain did Elizabeth, perhaps with ſome degree of ſincerity, interpoſe, by Throgmorton her ambaſſador, to reſcue her couſin from ſome part of that humiliation and thoſe ſeverities which Mary was now expoſed to endure from her own ſubjects. Morton and his co-adjutors too well knew—what were Elizabeth's real ſentiments in reſpect to Mary,—to fear that they ſhould render the Engliſh Queen, their irreconcileable foe, even by exceeding in harſhneſs to their own degraded Sovereign. To every application in Mary's behalf, they made anſwer by proclaiming her guilt, and by boaſting—what ſtrong proofs of it they had obtained. Their arts prevailed. It was at laſt agreed; that Mary ſhould be compelled, to reſign the Crown in favour of her ſon; and that the Earl of Moray ſhould be appointed regent of the kingdom, during James's minority. Mary's conſent to this arrangement, was extorted by the fears of inſtant death, or of perpetual impriſonment. And yet, ſhe would perhaps have refuſed her ſubſcription to the requiſite deeds, when theſe were preſented to her; if ſhe had not been ſecretly encouraged by the ſuggeſtions of ſome of her friends, that a reſignation of her power in thoſe circumſtances

cumſtances of reſtraint in which ſhe was then detained, could be of no legal force *.

No ſooner was Mary's reſignation of the ſovereign authority thus obtained, than the crown was ſet on the head of her infant ſon. The Earl of Moray returned to fill the office of regent; and after an inſulting viſit to his degraded ſiſter in her confinement in Lochleven, aſſumed the reins of the government into his hands. A Parliament aſſembled, in which a majority of the principal nobles were preſent, and ſhewed as if they had been ſatisfied with the new ſettlement of public affairs. Such proofs of the guilt, as well of Mary herſelf, as of Bothwell, were there produced; that even thoſe who had been the moſt attached to her, ſeemed now to find ſufficient reaſon to abandon her cauſe. They of whoſe political conduct, religious zeal was the regulating ſpring, were all ardently devoted to the Earl of Moray, who was, in truth, at once, the ableſt and the moſt honeſt among the nobles of their party. The late inſurrection was by ſolemn parliamentary acts vindicated and approved. The Queen herſelf, and her conduct towards Bothwell, were declared to have alone occaſioned all the late diſturbances. After

Regency of Moray.

* Melville, &c.

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ter the diſſolution of the Parliament, Moray thus regent, proceeded to exerciſe the ſupreme power in a ſolemn juſticiary progreſs throughout the kingdom. The conviction and execution of Dalglieſh, Powrie, Hepburn, and Hay, accomplices with Bothwell in the murder of Henry, were among the firſt conſpicuous acts of criminal juſtice which the new regent exerciſed *.

A new combination in favour of Mary.

In the mean time, the fate of Mary was not unpitied; the opinions and feelings of all the Scottiſh nobles were not in perfect uniſon with thoſe of Moray, Morton, and the reſt of their faction. The Hamiltons had for a conſiderable time ſtood aloof from all concern in the management of public affairs. It was not natural for them to favour the aggrandiſement of the rival family of Lennox; and they had therefore avoided the Court during the firſt happy months of Mary's and Henry's love. The talents of Moray and Morton, did not leave it poſſible for the heads of the Houſe of Hamilton, to maintain themſelves as the leaders of the Proteſtant party. They could not, after all which had paſſed, eaſily ſet themſelves at the head of the Catholics. Their alliance to the young Earl of Huntley, prevented them from interfering

* Buchanan, &c.

interfering to diſturb thoſe meaſures which were carried on by him and Bothwell in concert. But, it was not their intereſt to ſuffer Mary to be miſerably cut off by her own ſubjects. If divorced from Bothwell, ſhe might yet become the wife of Lord Claud Hamilton, a younger ſon of the Duke of Chattelherault, and a youth of great promiſe. Intereſt and honour, now, concurred to invite them to eſpouſe the cauſe of Mary. Under their auſpices, all who abhorred the principles of the Preſbyterians; who dreaded the impoſing ſuperiority of Moray's talents; who were fearful leſt the faction of Moray and Morton, ſhould, in their zeal to puniſh the murder of Henry, urge too far their perſecution of Mary; or who had formerly ranked with the Catholic party, and ſtill cheriſhed a fond attachment to the Catholic religion; conſpired to make yet one great effort for the reſtoration of their Queen to liberty and to the enjoyment of the ſovereign power. By urging their perſecution of Mary ſo far as to compel her to an entire abdication of all authority, and to conſign her to impriſonment in a dungeon; the triumphant party had ſhocked and offended the minds of many who would have continued faithful to them, had they been more moderate in their meaſures of prevention and revenge. Even Moray of Tullibairden, lately ſo zealous in his

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oppoſition to Bothwell, now deſerted from the party of Morton and Moray. Nay, Maitland of Lethington; whether moved by haſty generoſity of ſentiment; or chuſing a part which was recommended by prudent and honeſt policy; or fancying, that the new combination in favour of Mary, could not fail of ſucceſs, and that he might obtain a complete aſcendency in the government of all their meaſures; deſerted Morton and Moray, to whom he had been long attached; and ſhewed a new diſpoſition to favour the views of the Hamiltons and their adherents. The old Duke of Chattelherault, was a man of mean talents. His eldeſt ſon had ſunk nearly into a ſtate of lunacy or idiotiſm. But, his younger ſons had now advanced to manhood, and diſplayed talents ſufficient to protect the dignities of their family, and to proſecute thoſe views which it became them to adopt. In the weſtern parts of the kingdom, the party of Mary's friends was ſoon ſtrong. The Lord Fleming held for her, the caſtle of Dunbarton. Lord John Hamilton repaired to the Court of France, to ſolicit aid for the deliverance of the Queen. In the midſt of theſe tranſactions, Mary artfully winning George Douglas, the brother of her keeper, to her intereſts, effected, by his means, her eſcape out of Lochleven-caſtle; and was conducted by the Lord Seton, with little delay,

delay, to the principal rendezvous of thoſe who had eſpouſed her cauſe, at Hamilton. Informed of her eſcape, her friends eagerly repaired from all quarters, to protect her perſon, and obey her commands. The Earls of Argyle, Caſſilis, Rothes, and Eglinton, the Lords Somerville, Yeſter, Livingſton, Borthwick, Herries, Roſs, and Fleming, with many other perſons of diſtinction, ſoon preſented themſelves before her, with the moſt ardent profeſſions of zealous loyalty. Many haſtily forſook the Regent's Court, to offer their 1568. duty to the Queen. A council of the nobles, and her other confidential ſervants, quickly declared thoſe deeds of reſignation to be void, which had been by Moray and Morton extorted from her fears. A bond was ſubſcribed by eight Earls, nine Biſhops, eighteen Lords, twelve Abbots and Priors, nearly one hundred inferior Barons, by which they ſolemnly engaged to maintain Mary's rights againſt all the arts and the violence of rebellion. An army of ſix thouſand men was already muſtered around her. Propoſals ſent by her to Moray, for the purpoſes of mutual conceſſion and reconciliation, were by him ſullenly rejected. It was therefore determined in the Council, no longer to avoid trying the event of a battle *.

But,

* Buchanan: Melville: Keith, &c.

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But, Moray's genius was eminently fitted for occaſions of difficulty and danger. He had now to contend for a prize that might well call forth into exertion all the moſt powerful energies of his ſoul. While he ſternly refuſed all compromiſe with the Queen and her partizans; he, at the ſame time, employed with aſtoniſhing promptitude of mind, thoſe meaſures which were requiſite to defend himſelf and his government againſt their force. During the time of their aſſembling in arms around their Queen at Hamilton, he was in the neighbouring city of Glaſgow, not more than twelve miles diſtant. Had they acted in the firſt inſtance, with ſufficient vigilance and alert activity, it might perhaps have been not difficult for them, to cut him off by ſurpriſe. But, the inhabitants of Glaſgow favoured his cauſe; the domains of the Houſe of Lennox were adjacent,—and all the vaſſals of that houſe were ready to take arms againſt the Queen; Moray's popularity among the Preſbyterians, quickly brought great numbers of them from all parts, to join him in arms. He ſoon ſaw around him a force which, although inferior in numbers to that of the Queen his ſiſter, was, however ſufficient to make him, in a conſiderable degree, confident of ſucceſs. While the Queen's army moved weſtward towards Dunbarton, of purpoſe to place her in ſecurity in that impregnable caſtle

Battle of Langſide-hill.

caſtle which the Lord Fleming ſtill held out for her; Moray drew out his troops on Langſide-hill, to intercept them on a march, that if ſucceſsful, might enable them long to protract the war. Moray had already poſted his troops with a ſkill that ſecured to them all the advantages of the ground; when the royal army came up. The two armies joined in battle. The firſt ſucceſs of the day ſeemed to favour Mary. Her cavalry, her ſpearmen, more than withſtood the onſet of their opponents. But, the archers, and the muſqueteers of Moray's army, ſoon turned the fortune of the fight. A general panic ſpread itſelf at once among the Queen's troops. They turned, they fled in ſuch confuſion, that Moray ſoon ſtayed the purſuit, becauſe he deſired not needleſs carnage, and becauſe he ſaw that there was no danger of their rallying, again to oppoſe him. Mary ſeeing her laſt hopes thus undone, and diſtruſting her brother's mercy, fled, under the conduct of Lord Herries, through the ſhires of Renfrew and Ayr, nor halted till ſhe had reached the Abbey of Dundrennan, almoſt at the ſouthern extremity of Galloway, and nearly an hundred miles diſtant from the ſcene of the unfortunate battle. After ſome ſhort ſtay in the Abbey of Dundrennan, ſhe, with about twenty attendants, went on board a fiſhing boat, and with that raſh

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raſh haſte with which perſons ſinking under the preſſure of misfortune, are ſometimes apt to run into a greater evil for the ſake of eſcaping a ſmaller; ſailed to Workington in Cumberland; and there, landing in the dominions of her couſin; put herſelf in the power of one in whoſe generoſity or friendſhip ſhe had little reaſon to confide *.

Moray improves his victory.

Moray, in the mean time, although he purſued not Mary's flight, was actively careful to make a due uſe of his victory. The caſtles of Draffan and of Hamilton, were ſurrendered at the ſummons of his triumphant army. In the North, by the zealous activity of the Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Huntley who had advanced to the banks of the Tay, with two thouſand men in arms, under his command, was obliged to retire, without urging on farther. The Earls of Caſſilis and Argyle, in vain, endeavoured once more to embody the remains of the Queen's army: for, Moray's alert energy, with the terror of his threats, and the ſtern ſeverity of his vengeance, ſoon drove them to relinquiſh every purpoſe of making head againſt him with ſucceſs. Of the priſoners whom his ſoldiers ſeized in arms, ſix were condemned to

* Buchanan: Melville: Knox: Anderſon, &c.

to death, as more eminently guilty or dangerous than the reſt; but were, in the hour of execution, ſpared at the interceſſion of Knox. Knox and the reſt of the Preſbyterian preachers, believing that the ſucceſs of Moray's arms, and the ſtability of his government, could alone give final and effectual ſtability to that form of religion which they preached; zealouſly devoted themſelves as the ſupporters of his authority, and the ready inſtruments of all his purpoſes. Nothing but time ſeemed to be now wanting, to enable him to ſettle his adminiſtration on a baſis too firm to be ſhaken by all the efforts of the partizans of the fugitive Queen *.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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Chapter VIII.

From the time of Mary's Flight into England, to the Period of her Death.

Such was the iſſue to which Mary's attachment to the Roman-Catholic religion, her youthful paſſions, the turbulence of the Scottiſh nobles, the fervent and artful zeal of the Proteſtant reformers, the jealouſy of Queen Elizabeth, and the fears and guilty ambition of the Earl of Moray and his partizans; had unfortunately conducted thoſe fair hopes and views with which Mary aſſumed the reins of the Scottiſh Government into her own hands, upon her return from France.

Correſpondence of Mary with the Engliſh Court.

After her arrival in England, her firſt correſpondence was with thoſe ſervants of Elizabeth, who held the command in the diſtrict in which ſhe had landed. Lauder, the deputy-governor of the Caſtle of Carliſle, aſſembling the principal inhabitants of the neighbourhood, conducted her with reſpectful courteſy from Workington

to

to that caſtle. From Carliſle, Mary impatiently wrote to her couſin Elizabeth; announcing her arrival within the Engliſh dominions, explaining the ſeries of her late misfortunes, imploring Elizabeth's protection, and propoſing, without delay, to preſent herſelf in the Engliſh Court. Elizabeth's anſwer ſoothed the royal exile with the language of ſympathy and kindneſs, but ſpoke alſo of the claims of juſtice, and brought no invitation to Mary, to repair to London. Awakened by the tenor of this anſwer, to a full ſenſe of her misfortunes in all their extent; Mary now ſent Lord Herreis, to ſolicit for her from her couſin, kinder conſolation, and more effectual relief. Doubtful of the ſucceſs of her intreaties with Elizabeth, ſhe, about the ſame time, deſpatched a new embaſſy to the Court of France, to demand the aid of a Prince who was leſs intereſted than Elizabeth, to take advantage of her calamities, and to prolong them. The unfortunate are uſually apt to imagine, that thoſe who are in any degree connected with them, ought at once to forego all other regards for the ſake of ſympathizing with their ſorrows, and relieving their diſtreſs. They forget, how little they themſelves, in proſperity, have been diſpoſed to ſacrifice their intereſts or pleaſures, to the conſolation of others. But, although Mary, in her di-

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ſtreſs, could forget that oppoſition of intereſt and of character which had hitherto ſubſiſted between her and Elizabeth; the Engliſh Queen was not to be guided, in her conduct to Mary, in the preſent circumſtances, by other ſentiments than that perſonal rivalry, and that cold political prudence, by which ſhe had been hitherto, ſo ſtrongly actuated. The decencies of her royal dignity, the benefit to be derived from permanently humbling Mary in the eyes of thoſe who wiſhed to ſee her ſupplant her couſin, the triumph of envy and of perſonal rivalſhip; theſe were the principles which were to direct Elizabeth in her interpoſition between Mary and her rebellious ſubjects. There was nothing elſe to be naturally expected. It was only the weak-mindedneſs of misfortune, miſleading the Scottiſh Queen, that would encourage her to conceive more flattering hopes. After ſome deliberation, it was determined between Elizabeth and her Counſellors, to amuſe Mary with ambiguous anſwers; and to detain her in confinement and anxious ſuſpence, under the pretext; that, till her character ſhould be fully vindicated from thoſe atrocious crimes with the imputation of which it had been branded, Elizabeth could not prudently interfere in her behalf; but that as ſoon as Mary's innocence ſhould be fully evinced, her couſin would then naturally

naturally reſtore her to her throne. Mary, already diſſatisfied with her ſituation, earneſtly remonſtrated againſt this cold and haughty unkindneſs. Remonſtrances were all that ſhe had to offer. Elizabeth and her miniſters had recourſe to new haughtineſs and new evaſions. Mary was now ſurrounded and watched, under the appearance of doing her honour, with a vigilance which proved Elizabeth to be fully ſenſible of all the conſequence of the prize which ſhe had obtained into her hands. The Scottiſh Queen was neither to be admitted into the preſence of her royal couſin, to be ſuffered to make her eſcape out of the Engliſh dominions, nor to be permitted to intrigue freely with thoſe Engliſh Roman-Catholics, who were attached to her intereſts*.

In the mean time, the Earl of Moray, ſecure of a favourable hearing at the Engliſh Court; and ſtill proſperous in all his undertakings at home; was not ſlow to furniſh, by his remonſtrances and complaints againſt his ſiſter, ſufficient matter to enable Elizabeth ſpeciouſly to juſtify that ambiguous tenor of conduct which ſhe had adopted in regard to Mary. Diſpatching Wood, his ſecretary, to London, he by this man, propoſed to vindicate himſelf and

* Melville: Camden: Buchanan, &c.

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and his adherents, by evincing, with irreſiſtible proofs, the hainous guilt of his ſiſter. He invited Elizabeth to aſſume the flattering character of arbiter and judge, between Mary and her diſloyal ſubjects. He artfully employed means to induce the Engliſh Queen, to procure Mary to diſarm, by her own command, thoſe of her faithful ſubjects in Scotland, whoſe activity on her behalf, the Regent had not yet been able entirely to ſuppreſs. Pretending ſtill a tender intereſt in the fortunes of Mary which ſhe did not feel, and a regard equally inſincere, to the right and juſtice of the caſe; Elizabeth, while ſhe ſeemed ſternly to threaten and overawe the ambaſſadors of the Scottiſh Regent, nevertheleſs gratified his wiſhes. Mary was ſtill detained at a diſtance from the Engliſh Court, and was treated with a contemptuous haughtineſs, little adapted to flatter her partizans in Scotland with the hopes of effectual aid to be ſpeedily obtained from England. She was ſolicited to ſubmit her cauſe to the inveſtigation and judgement of Elizabeth; to lay her commands on her adherents in Scotland, that they ſhould no longer exert themſelves in oppoſition to Moray's adminiſtration; and to decline the immediate introducing of French forces into the caſtle of Dunbarton, which was ſtill faithfully held for

Intrigues of Moray at the Engliſh Court; and ungenerous conduct of Elizabeth.

for Mary. Whatever might have been her former crimes; her preſent fate might well excite our general pity. She was enſnared within the power of her enemies; and they, under pretence of treating her according to juſtice, thought only of managing ſo as to turn her misfortunes, as much as poſſible, to their own advantage. From Carliſle, She was conducted to Bolton-Caſtle, and was there watched with all the jealouſy with which it might have been natural to treat a dangerous ſtate-priſoner. To the complaints of Moray, were ſoon joined againſt her, thoſe alſo of the Counteſs of Lennox, the mother of the murdered Henry. So many complaints ſeemed to impoſe it upon Elizabeth, as an indiſpenſible duty, to ſatisfy herſelf by due inveſtigation of the guilt or innocence of her couſin, before taking any farther ſteps to protect or aid her. Mary, while ſtill heſitating, was at laſt induced, by ſtrong private aſſurances of her couſin's partiality in her favour, to reſign implicitly all the merits of her cauſe to Elizabeth's deciſion. Preparations were made for a trial, in which the Engliſh Queen was to act that grand part of an umpire in the Scottiſh affairs, which, of all her predeceſſors, Edward the Fourth had been alone exalted to perform. Moray, before repairing to England

to

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to become the accuſer of his ſiſter and his Sovereign, took advantage of thoſe circumſtances which had diſarmed her Scottiſh partizans; procured ſentences of forfeiture to be pronounced againſt the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the party of the Hamiltons; and waſted with fire and ſword, the territories in Nithſdale and Galloway, of the Gordons, the Herreiſes, and the Maxwells, who were ſtill faithful in their adherence to the Queen *.

Preparations for Mary's trial.

All was at laſt arranged for the deſtined trial. From thoſe who adminiſtered the government of Scotland in the name of Mary's infant ſon, were deputed the Regent himſelf, the Earl of Morton, the Biſhop of Orkney, Robert commendator of Dunfermline, and Patrick Lord Lindſay: Maitland of Lethington, Mr James Macgill, Mr Henry Balnaveis, and the celebrated George Buchanan, alſo attended in the commiſſion, as aſſiſtants to Moray. Leſly biſhop of Roſs, the Lords Livingſton, Boyd, and Herreis, Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn, were empowered by Mary to act on her behalf. Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk. Thomas Radcliffe Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, were the commiſſioners whom Elizabeth ſent

* Buchanan: Melville: Camden, &c.

ſent to take cognizance, in her name, of the matter in conteſt between the Scottiſh Queen and her ſubjects. It was underſtood, on the one hand, that by entering into this inveſtigation, Elizabeth pledged herſelf to guarantee the preſent government of Scotland, if Mary's guilt ſhould be ſatisfactorily evinced: At leaſt Moray and his aſſociates were encouraged to infer as much in their own favour from the conduct of Elizabeth, and from the hints which were thrown out by her miniſters. On the other hand, Mary and her faithful ſervants expected; that if her innocence ſhould be even but plauſibly maintained; Elizabeth would then interfere to reſtore her to the throne from which ſhe had been expelled. Neither Mary, nor her diſobedient ſubjects, could ſeriouſly regard their ſubmiſſion to this inquiry in any other light, than as an expedient for obtaining Elizabeth's approbation and aid, not a trial in which they were called, as of right, before a ſuperior tribunal. But, the Engliſh Queen, with her miniſters and counſellors, earneſtly conſidered this inveſtigation, as an opportunity for re-eſtabliſhing the paramount ſupremacy of the Engliſh Crown over the kingdom of Scotland; as an occaſion for exalting the character of Elizabeth, over that of her fallen rival Mary; as what afforded extraordinary advantages over both the Scots and

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their Queen, and would put, in effect, the fate of both in Elizabeth's hands; as a trial, in ſhort, of which the event might probably juſtify Elizabeth in treating her couſin as a criminal *.

1568.

Opening of the conferences at York.

All theſe commiſſioners met at York, on the fourth day of October, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſixty-eight. After ſome complaints, that Elizabeth, in the letters appointing her commiſſioners, appeared to arrogate to herſelf a power which the Scots were not at all diſpoſed to concede to her; and after ſome reciprocal proteſtations, expreſſive of the rights which the Scots and the Engliſh reſpectively conceived to belong to themſelves; the deputies began to enter upon the diſcuſſion of the more material parts of the buſineſs which had brought them together. The deputies of Mary, warmly declared the wrongs ſhe had ſuffered from her baſe brother and his partizans. Moray, in anſwer to their accuſations, uttered dark hints of atrocious guilt, of which he was ready to produce irreſiſtible evidence againſt Mary; if, upon her conviction, Elizabeth would protect and confirm with all her power, that eſtabliſhment of the Scottiſh government, which he and his friends had already made. To this menaced accuſation, he added an unſatisfactory apology for

* Camden: Buchanan, &c.

for all the measures which his party had taken against their Queen; pretending that they had been compelled to these by her weak misgovernment; and were amply justified by her own voluntary resignation of her Crown, in favour of her infant son, and of the Earl of Moray as Regent. Mary's deputies were ready to make a warm and strongly convincing answer to the latter and more direct part of this defence. Moray did not immediately offer aught in reply. The discussion of these affairs, was, from the first, embarrassed and retarded by the pretensions of the English Commissioners, to inquire and decide with the full authority of legally constituted judges; while, on the other hand, neither party of the Scots was willing to surrender, upon this occasion, the national independency,—and neither Moray nor Mary desired more than to make such an explanation as should engage Elizabeth in the warm and decisive support of the one or of the other. Moray in his defence, was perplexed, as it should seem;—by the want of sufficient evidence to convict Mary of having been an accomplice in her husband's murder;—by a knowledge of Elizabeth's character and policy, which taught him, that the caprices of personal pride, and a respect to the true interests of the English government, would alone regulate her con-

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duct in the present affair;—by a cautious unwillingness to provoke irreconcileably against himself, all the other friends and allies of Mary,—unless he were first confidently certain, that Elizabeth would, in every difficulty, support and protect him with all her power and friendship. In addition to the difficulties which in this manner arose, to check Moray in his accusations, and to retard the progress of the investigation, others were soon excited by the wishes and intrigues of Elizabeth's principal commissioner, the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk was the principal person among the English Catholics, a widower, eminently popular, amorous, ambitious. He had already conceived the design of obtaining Mary for his wife; of delivering her out of her present difficulties, of restoring her to the Scottish throne and to the hopes of the English succession; and of thus advancing himself, with her, to the heights of royalty, from that eminence of subject-greatness which he already enjoyed. His suggestions made Moray still more fearful of Elizabeth's ultimate views, and more reluctant to endanger himself by the too open, direct, and circumstantial accusation of his sister. Maitland, although numbered among the attendants of the Scottish Regent, was still inclined to favour, in a certain degree, the cause of the Queen;

Queen: And his artifices co-operated with other circumſtances in preventing Moray, for a time, from proceeding to meaſures of extreme hoſtility againſt Mary *.

Intrigues in favour of Mary,—with the Duke of Norfolk.

In conſequence of all this, mutual communications took place between the defenders, the accuſers, and the deſtined judges of Mary, which promiſed to diſappoint Elizabeth's hopes, and once more to reſtore the Scottiſh Queen to liberty and dominion. Leſly, and the other commiſſioners for Mary, eagerly graſped at whatever appeared likely to alleviate or terminate the misfortunes of their royal miſtreſs. Moray became, every day, more ſenſible of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by truſting to Elizabeth's power or doubtful promiſes, and by proſecuting a plan of too rancorous revenge againſt his ſiſter. Maitland negociated among all parties; deſirous to reſcue Mary from diſtreſs,—to ſave the Preſbyterian party from being ruined by her eſcape,—and to make Norfolk the inſtrument of his purpoſes, while he ſhould, at the ſame time, gratify this powerful nobleman, in both his ambition and his love. The Lady Scroope, the ſiſter of the Duke of Norfolk, was Mary's companion at Bolton-Caſtle; and *her* intermediation ſerved rapidly

* Anderſon, vol. iv: Goodall, v. 2: Buchanan, &c.

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rapidly to promote between the Scottiſh Queen and the Duke, that intrigue of love and policy in which they had engaged. Moray was perſuaded to decline the odium of accuſing his ſiſter of a huſband's murder. Artifices were employed to divert Elizabeth and her Council from urging the matter to farther extremities. A proſpect ſeemed to be opened, by the joint efforts of all the principal commiſſioners, of ſuch a termination of the whole affair, as ſhould not overthrow the pretences of either Mary or the Regent, ſhould reſtore tranquility in Scotland, and ſhould once more make Mary formidable to her couſin. As this termination of Mary's preſent misfortunes, by means of the Duke of Norfolk, and conſequently of the Engliſh Catholics, would have contributed to reſtore to the Popiſh party in Scotland, all their former weight and influence; it is impoſſible that aught but an anxious ſenſe of perſonal danger, or the overbearing perſuaſions of the reſt of his party, could have diſpoſed Moray to agree to it *.

But, a ſtate-intrigue can rarely be of ſuch a nature, that it ſhall not be the intereſt of one perſon or another, to diſcloſe it to thoſe againſt

* Camden: Spottiſwood: Buchanan: Anderſon: Coll: Goodall, &c.

againſt whom it is intended to operate. The averſion of Moray to proceed with earneſtneſs in the open and judicial detection of his ſiſter's crimes; the new hopes conceived by Norfolk; the combination among all the principal of the commiſſioners at York, for the reſtoration of Mary to her throne; were ſoon either betrayed to Elizabeth, or ſuſpected by her and her Council, in conſequence of that particular turn which the current of the affairs at York had plainly taken. Elizabeth, therefore; pretending that the progreſs of the inquiry was delayed by the great diſtance between London and York; directed its farther diſcuſſion to be diſcontinued at the latter of theſe places; that it might be renewed at London, where it could be more ſpeedily brought to a termination under her own immediate inſpection. The commiſſioners repaired, of courſe, to the Engliſh Court: and ſtill Elizabeth ſpoke only the language of kindneſs and compaſſion to the deputies of Mary. But, all the ſecret intrigues of Moray and Norfolk, were now made known; and Moray was ſoon compelled by the threats of the Engliſh and of his own co-adjutors, to abandon that tenor of delicate conduct towards his ſiſter, which he had been perſuaded to adopt, and to avow himſelf ready to convict her, by irreſiſtible evidence, of the moſt atrocious crimes.

The cognizance of the cauſe transferred from York to London.

Other

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Other commiſſioners were added to thoſe who had acted for Elizabeth in the conferences at York. A new rigour and vigilance were employed to prevent Mary from making her eſcape. Both her defenders and her accuſers were amuſed by every ambiguous promiſe, and every artful inſinuation, that appeared neceſſary to make them throw themſelves implicitly and unequivocally upon the mercy of Elizabeth. That accuſation which had been hitherto deferred, was at laſt extorted from Moray and his aſſociates. To ſtrengthen its force againſt the unhappy Mary, the Earl of Lennox was called in, to claim juſtice and vengeance upon the murderer of his ſon. The whole affair was now made to aſſume ſtill more and more the aſpect of a ſolemn and regular trial, before a Court of juſtice, in which Mary appeared as the accuſed criminal; her rebel-ſubjects, as the proſecutors; Elizabeth and her commiſſioners, as the judges.—It is true, that, by this management, Elizabeth the moſt effectually protected her own ſafety, and the eſtabliſhments of the Preſbyterian religion in both Scotland and England: It is true, that ſhe, by the ſame means, ſeemed to exalt the dignity of the Engliſh Crown, to a new pre-eminence over that of Scotland: But, nothing could be a more flagrant violation of that *law of nations*, which

which was, even then, received among the ſtates and kingdoms of Europe; nothing could more directly tranſgreſs all the common principles of juſtice and humanity, than theſe meaſures of which the policy was ſo artful and ſo efficacious *.

Termination of theſe tranſactions, without relief to Mary.

By theſe new means, the Queen of England ſoon extricated herſelf from the obligation of whatever encouraging promiſes ſhe had made to Mary. Moray and his co-adjutors, reduced to the apparent neceſſity of either accuſing their Queen, upon ſtrong evidence, as an adultereſs and a murderer,—or elſe ſeeing themſelves rejected and condemned, as guilty rebels; now produced a caſket of letters, which was pretended to have been intercepted in its conveyance between Mary and Bothwell. The letters contained in this caſket, were, upon examination, found to evince the exiſtence of a guilty intimacy between the Scottiſh Queen and her paramour, before the murder of Henry Stewart; which betrayed Mary's adultery, and neceſſarily involved her as an accomplice in Bothwell's foulest guilt. Theſe letters were eagerly ſeized by Elizabeth and her miniſters, as criminating proofs againſt Mary, of which the force could by no means be invalidated

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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lidated or evaded. *Mary's agents*, when they ſaw theſe writings triumphantly produced againſt them; when they perceived, that Elizabeth treated the adverſaries of their miſtreſs with gracious favour,—while ſhe held Mary herſelf removed at a diſtance from her preſence; when they fully underſtood, that Elizabeth, inſtead of requiring merely that ſatisfaction concerning Mary's innocence, which might ſeem requiſite to juſtify her own honour to the world, if ſhe ſhould interfere to reſtore her couſin to the Scottiſh throne,—ſtill ſtrove to act as an umpire and a ſupreme judge in this affair, and thought only of ſerving her own intereſts from Mary's miſfortunes; when experience and due reflection, with the obſervation of the manner in which all Mary's complaints and remonſtrances were ſlighted, made them ſenſible that ſhe had no favour, perhaps no juſtice, to hope from the Engliſh Queen; *waved* the farther inveſtigation of this whole affair, ſometimes by ſuggeſting expedients by which its progreſs was artfully delayed, and ſometimes by boldly accuſing the partiality and queſtioning the authority of Elizabeth. After all the delays and artifices of negotiation had been, on all hands, tried; Moray and his aſſociates were diſmiſſed in honour, to reſume the adminiſtration of the Scottiſh government. Elizabeth ſeemed to declare herſelf ſatisfied

ſatisfied of the candour, innocence, and honeſt political wiſdom of all that they had done againſt their Sovereign. The farther examination of the matters in conteſt between them and Mary, was delayed, becauſe Mary and her Commiſſioners would no longer ſubmit to that umpirage or judicial authority which the Engliſh Queen had arrogated, and which Moray and his adherents had been willing to own in her. Elizabeth and the faction of Moray ſcrupled not to repreſent this conduct of Mary, as ſuggeſted by conſcious guilt, and by the terror of certain conviction if the trial ſhould proceed. Upon this pretext, Elizabeth declined ſhewing farther favour to her couſin, reſtoring her to her throne, or even ſetting her at liberty from confinement, till the atrocious imputations brought againſt her by her own ſubjects, ſhould have been ſatisfactorily diſproved.—Thus did the Engliſh Queen obtain advantages more conſiderable than could have been purchaſed by the moſt ſucceſsful war. A rival Queen was her captive: A neighbouring kingdom was ſubjected to her controul: A competitor even for her own throne, and for the influence of a Sovereign even over *her* Engliſh ſubjects, was branded with the charge of atrocious guilt, and reduced to a condition of helpleſs miſery, in which, it might

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well ſeem, that ſhe could no longer be, in any degree, formidable *.

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The queſtion of Mary's guilt or innocence, propoſed.

But, were thoſe papers genuine on which Elizabeth, and Mary's enemies in Scotland, pretended to found their ſtrong conviction of Mary's guilt? Is it unequivocally, and indubitably certain, that Mary was *either guilty* or *innocent* of the crimes which have been, on one ſide, furiouſly imputed to her,—on the other hand, zealouſly denied as acts and intentions of which her pure ſoul was even utterly incapable?

She was guilty; for

It would be highly pleaſing, if we could acquit this unhappy Queen of the guilt of her huſband's murder; for, it is ever more grateful to contemplate the virtues, than the crimes of mankind. But, the following conſiderations ſeem to render it impoſſible for candid and rational diſcrimination to pronounce her innocent of Darnley's blood.

her *education* had formed her character for the commiſſion of ſuch a crime.

I. Mary's education had not impreſſed her mind with thoſe correct moral ſentiments, which, when ſtrongly and habitually preſent to the ſoul, render

* Papers apud Goodall: Carte: Whitaker: Robertſon, &c.

render it incapable of being tempted to commit convenient crimes. In the Court of France, in which ſhe was brought up, ſhe had ſeen before her, the example of Catherine di Medici; a woman who was prone to encourage at once all the wanton and luxurious vices, with all the moſt dark and atrocious crimes. Sentiments and manners not abhorrent from thoſe of this bad Queen, were prevalent among all the ladies and nobles of her Court. It was impoſſible, that the young and tender mind of Mary, her daughter-in-law, ſhould eſcape the infection. The Roman-Catholic religion, likewiſe, which Mary profeſſed;—even before the Jeſuits had ingrafted upon it, their moſt pernicious maxims; was but too much adapted to encourage the irregular paſſions, and ſoothe the remorſe—of the vicious, and to pervert the firſt principles of genuine morality in the heart. Beſides, in this fierce and turbulent age, in general, the taking away of human life, by whatever means, or upon whatever pretence, was not regarded in the ſame light, as in times when the authority of law and peaceful order, is more effectually eſtabliſhed. Princes eſpecially, who were accounted to have the lawful power of life and death in their hands, were often at this time apt to think; that, when they had once determined to put any perſon to death; it ſignified little,

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little, whether that perſon were guilty or innocent, amenable to their power or not ſo,—nor in what manner their death-warrant were carried into execution againſt its object. Thus the example of a profligate Court, the influence of a religion far too indulgent to vice, the eaſy and looſe morality of the age in general, but particularly of its Princes, in regard to murder and other atrocious crimes; naturally tended to form Mary's mind in her early years, to habits of thinking and of moral judgement, not greatly abhorrent from a crime ſo dark as the murder of a huſband.

The natural impetuoſity of her *paſſions*, made her liable to it.

II. Mary was a woman of the moſt ardent paſſions, and ever ready to obey their headlong impulſe, without any ſcrupulous regard to the reſtraints of rectitude or of prudence. After the death of her huſband Francis, no conſiderations could make her pride ſtoop to conciliate the uſeful favour of Catherine, her mother-in-law. In her Court at Edinburgh, ſhe indulged her fond predilection for the gaiety of French manners, without liſtening to what the decencies of her regal dignity, or the prejudices of the Scots, the moſt loudly demanded. When, however, her pride was relentleſsly offended by the preſumption of Chatelard; ſhe delivered

vered him up to the executioner with a juſtice which was too paſſionately ſevere. When Darnley firſt won her fickle love, ſhe hurried to the gratification of the paſſion ſhe had conceived for him, with an impetuoſity which overleaped all the obſtacles of treaſonable intrigue, of prudence, even of virtue. To avenge the death of Rizzio, her rage drove her to employ the moſt deceitful artifices, the bold activity of a Virago, and the moſt inhuman cruelty of puniſhment. She who had been, on every former remarkable occaſion of her life, the ſlave of her paſſions, even to ſuch a degree, as, under their impulſe, to violate all the laws of juſtice; may be naturally ſuppoſed to have been liable to be hurried anew by thoſe paſſions into crimes, ſuch as thoſe of which ſhe was now accuſed.

Her *talents* rendered it impoſſible that ſhe ſhould be impoſed upon, by Bothwell.

III. Mary's talents were evidently too great, to ſuffer her to fall ſo weakly under the influence of others, as ſhe muſt have fallen, if ſhe had been not the accomplice, but the mere engine of Bothwell in the murder of her huſband, and in the receiving of the murderer, as the partner of her bed. Was it poſſible for her, when all her faculties, and particularly her vigilance and penetration, were erected, and

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and ſet on edge by the paſſions of love and hatred, to avoid diſcovering what deſigns were contrived by her lover againſt her huſband? Bothwell was evidently ſo inferior in talents to Mary, that it was impoſſible for him to hide from her, all the ſecrets of his ſoul,—even although he had *ſtriven* to wear the guiſe of hypocriſy. While he was conſtantly near her perſon, the confidant of all her counſels, the inſtrument by whoſe intervention ſhe evidently loaded her huſband with contumely and ſcorn; could ſhe avoid perceiving the exact nature of his ſentiments towards Henry? Or was it poſſible for him to hide from her, the whole train of his machinations againſt the unfortunate King? It is not denied, that, even at this time, Bothwell's ambitious love had aſpired to Mary's affections. But, this love, however contaminated by moral profligacy, and by guilty ambition, could not but make him liable to betray all his ſentiments and deſigns connected with it,—to her who was its object. And if Mary had but the ſlighteſt ſuſpicion of the wicked purpoſe of Bothwell, againſt her Lord's life,—and yet interpoſed not to fruſtrate and puniſh ſuch a purpoſe; ſhe muſt, of neceſſity, be regarded as an accomplice in its guilt!

IV. Had

IV. Had Mary not been conſcious of participation in Bothwell's crime; the indignant loftineſs of her ſpirit, would not have failed to make her inflict ſpeedy and rigorous vengeance on the ſuſpected murderer of her huſband. Former partiality for the murderer would have given place to horror for the atrocious audacity of his guilt. The ſenſe of her inſulted, violated Majeſty, would have ſuppreſſed every ſubordinate ſentiment in her breaſt. Concern leſt her own honour might be injured by the imputation of a conſciouſneſs of his crime, would have quickened the activity of her revenge. Even the regards of prudence, if theſe ſhould have interfered, would not have been ſuffered to ſtay her fury. Having the public voice fully accordant with what ſhe herſelf felt; ſhe would have quickly exalted her own popularity and power, by doing juſtice to the memory of the father of her ſon. The whole tenor of her previous conduct, was ſuch as to leave it impoſſible for us to conclude, that, if innocent, ſhe could on this occaſion have acted otherwiſe. Although hating her huſband, at the inſtant of his death; yet, if not an accomplice more or leſs directly, in its perpetration;—all her feelings would, by his fall, have been awakened to new tenderneſs in his behalf; and on whomſoever her ſuſpicions fell,—he who was their object could not have failed

Mary's *temper* would have made her revenge her huſband with ſeverity, if the conſpiracy againſt him had been diſagreeable to her.

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to perish under her vengeance. Instead of being, upon an occasion so interesting, cold, and timid, and ready to submit to the direction of others; she herself, more than any one else, would have been roused to energetic activity, to ride in the whirlwind of the national revenge, and to direct its storm upon the heads of the guilty. On all occasions throughout the whole course of her reign, and even of her life; whenever her feelings were powerfully agitated, whenever her passions were ardently inflamed; her genius rose superior to the influence of those around her, and she would still, for some few moments, guide the progress of her affairs with unrivalled ability.

None but Mary could have *interest* to encourage Bothwell to the murder.

V. Of all the persons belonging to the Scottish Courts, there was none except the Queen, who could have any motives either of passion or of interest, sufficient to prompt them to conspire with Bothwell against Henry's life. Moray, Morton, Maitland of Lethington, hated Henry; nor do they appear to have been secured against temptation to perpetrate a profitable murder, by any fixed sanctity of their religious or moral principles. But, they were crafty politicians. They were not men apt to commit any but profitable crimes; nor, indeed, to distinguish

distinguish themselves by any but profitable virtues. Had Henry been a man of powerful and formidable talents; those politicians, the leaders of the Presbyterian party, might have been sufficiently disposed to rid themselves of such an opponent, by assassination. But, he had already sunk into insignificance before them. Their revenge was amply gratified by the weakness of character which he had displayed, and by the contempt and humiliation into which he had fallen. It was for them more useful, that Mary should continue the wife of such a weak Prince as Henry, whose mean abilities, and disagreement with his Queen, must long make room for the greatness of ambitious subjects; rather than that, being delivered either by divorce or by his death, from her conjugal connexion with him; she should thus be left free to become the wife of a man whose talents might enable him to vindicate to himself and his Queen, the whole Sovereign power. Instead of having any motives of interest, to induce them to make way for the exaltation of Bothwell, by assassinating Henry; it was rather *their* interest, to reconcile Mary with her husband, in order to ruin the influence of her more able, more profligate, and more turbulent lover. To exalt Bothwell, that they might afterwards degrade

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and deſtroy him; to cut off a weak adverſary, expreſsly of purpoſe to raiſe up to themſelves another more powerful; were meaſures too obviouſly unwiſe and impolitic, to be ever adopted by ſuch men as Moray, Morton, and Maitland. Bothwell's elevation could not but threaten much more of oppoſition and miſchief to them, than whatever they might have to dread even from the moſt cordial reconciliation of Mary with her huſband. Since motives of intereſt alone, can be ſuppoſed to have uniformly actuated the leaders of the reformers; and ſince it was more for their intereſt, that Henry ſhould be ſafe, and ſhould be reconciled to his Queen, than that he ſhould be cut off to make way for the exaltation of Bothwell: We muſt therefore infer, that thoſe leaders of the reformation cannot have made themſelves accomplices in Henry's murder. But, it ſeems to have been generally confeſſed; that if Moray and Morton were not accomplices in the crime of Bothwell; Mary herſelf cannot but have been conſcious of it.

She would have puniſhed Bothwell for the violence which he offered to her love, if ſhe had not been an accomplice in his crimes.

VI. We may likewiſe affirm with confidence; that, if Mary had not been an accomplice in Bothwell's guilt, and already partial to his love; ſhe would not have failed to puniſh with

with ſignal ſeverity, the ſeeming violence with which he carried her away to Dunbar, and there raviſhed thoſe favours which ſhould have been ſpontaneouſly granted by love alone. It is natural for the female ſex in general; however they may be pleaſed with that boldneſs which overcomes their *feigned reluctance*; yet, to be irreconcileably provoked by any attempt to force from them, a love which they are, in their hearts, *ſeriouſly diſpoſed to refuſe*. Mary, in particular, was of a temper to reſent, with fierce and implacable indignation, any attempt to commit violence on either her Majeſty or her love. Inſtead of being ſoothed to forgive the rape, and to reſign her willing affections to the raviſher; ſhe would, undoubtedly, have ſeized the firſt opportunity of eſcaping out of Bothwell's hands,—if her love had actually ſuffered violence from his flagitious audacity,—and of raiſing her whole kingdom in arms for the purpoſe of ſubjecting him to condign puniſhment. Had not Bothwell been dear to her; ſhe might have found, in the reſentment of the wrongs he offered, and in the attempt to revenge them, an occaſion, once more to recover all that popularity and influence among her ſubjects in general, which ſhe had once poſſeſſed, but had now for ſome time loſt. Nothing but the conſcioufneſs of being an

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an accomplice in the crimes of Bothwell, could made a woman of Mary's high ſpirit, and mental energy, ſubmit to make herſelf the victim of his ſubſequent artifices.

Papers, &c. confirm the opinion of Mary's guilt.

VII. It ſeems to be ſufficiently evident, that thoſe written proofs of the guilt of Mary, which Moray and his aſſociates offered to the inſpection of Elizabeth and her commiſſioners, were not in all their parts completely genuine. Hence, it has been earneſtly inferred, that Mary muſt have been innocent of crimes of which her enemies ſtrove to convict her by falſified evidence. But, this inference does not neceſſarily ariſe out of the premiſes from which it is deduced. Mary might be guilty; and yet, her accuſers, wanting due proofs of that guilt which they ſuſpected, might have recourſe to baſe arts, in order to accompliſh her conviction. Bothwell was not in their hands: Thoſe of the ſuſpected accomplices who had been ſeized, gave but an uncertain evidence: Many of thoſe whoſe judgement and teſtimony might have been the moſt uſeful, to eſtabliſh the certainty of Mary's guilt, were attached to *herſelf*, and were removed beyond the power of her accuſers. Yet, after what they had done, it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary, even to the perſonal ſafety of Moray and his aſſociates, that they ſhould prove

prove Mary to have been an adultereſs, and the murderer of her huſband. In ſuch circumſtances, what was more natural for men like them, than to feign proofs of a guilt which they believed to be real, although ſufficient proofs of its reality were not in their hands? But, the falſity of *their* evidence could never deſtroy the reality of *her* guilt!——And yet, the papers produced as the contents of the famous caſket, have never been ſatisfactorily proved to be entirely forgeries. If difficulties ariſe in the attempt to account for various inconſiſtencies which they preſent, when regarded as genuine; moſt of theſe difficulties may be removed, by conſidering them as partly genuine, and only in part forgeries; by ſuppoſing that the caſket and certain of theſe papers actually fell into the hands of Mary's enemies, who produced them againſt her; but that, in order to derive greater advantage from this fortunate capture, thoſe enemies were induced to enlarge the number of the genuine papers by the addition of forgeries in which Mary's guilt ſhould ſeem to be directly and unequivocally betrayed. Is there any incident ſo ancient, ſo ſecret, in the contrary repreſentations of which party-intereſts have been ſo much concerned, and which if made equally the theme of diſputation, might not be made

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to appear equally problematical? If certain circumstances seem to imply, unavoidably, the forgery of the contents of the famous casket; there are others, which, on the contrary, seem to render it impossible, that those papers should have been forged, on the face of which they appear. The papers of the casket do not present themselves in that unsuspicious form in which even they alone might have been accepted, as affording irrefragable evidence of Mary's guilt. But, when regarded only as one auxiliary proof among many others; they cannot be denied, even with all their inconsistencies, to add something to the weight of the general mass of evidence.

Mary and Bothwell had a great interest to perpetrate the murder.

VIII. Still this consideration, above all others, must strongly recur to the mind that meditates upon this interesting affair: *None but Mary and Bothwell could derive from Henry's murder, advantages in any degree equivalent to the danger, the guilt, and the odium of the crime.* A divorce between Mary and Henry, could not be accomplished without much trouble and long delays. It would, besides, have left Henry still in a condition to rival Mary even in the government of her own kingdom, and most certainly in her pretensions to the inheritance of the

the Engliſh Crown. It might have placed James, the ſon of Henry and Mary, under the tutelage of his father. It did not ſuit the impatience of Mary's love and hatred: It ſeemed to threaten the diminution of her power. Hence the neceſſity of recurring to other meaſures; if Mary deſired to make Bothwell, inſtead of Henry, the partner of her bed and her throne. But, for any purpoſe, except to make way for the marriage of Mary with Bothwell, the aſſaſſination of Henry was not deſirable.

IX. Let it not appear to us ſurpriſing, that the *guilt* or *innocence* of Mary ſhould have ſo long remained a problem in hiſtory! Even any one of thoſe facts in hiſtory which are regarded as the moſt unqueſtionably certain, might be brought into doubt; and might have the moſt plauſible probabilities urged againſt its reality, if human ingenuity could be but ſufficiently intereſted in the diſcuſſion. Intereſts of the higheſt conceivable importance, exiſted to make one party deny, while the other affirmed the guilt of Mary during her own life. Parties then took their riſe, which having ever ſince continued to ſubſiſt, have conſequently prolonged the diſpute. From the circumſtances of the perſons among whom it firſt aroſe, and

Circumſtances which created and have prolonged the diſpute concerning Mary's guilt or innocence.

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of the time, the evidence was, on both ſides, left in confuſion, which could ſcarcely admit of being diſentangled, in obſcurity hardly ſuſceptible of illumination. When at a later æra, the diſpute was renewed; we have ſeen the ancient party-ſpirit rekindled with it. The jealouſies and competitions of rival hiſtorians have interpoſed, to foment the ſtrife. The love of paradox in the breaſts of men of letters, has aided the miſchief. And a ridiculous ſpirit of gallantry, has prompted ſome men to tell us, that becauſe Mary was enchantingly beautiful, they have therefore determined to maintain that ſhe muſt have been incapable of guilt. Never ſurely was gallantry more abſurdly employed, than when it propoſes to alter the truth of hiſtory*.

Amidst

* Goodall, Stuart, Tytler, Whitaker, Hume, Robertſon, Dr T. Robertſon, Mademoiſelle, Keralio, and others, have, within theſe laſt ſixty or ſeventy years, diſcuſſed this queſtion of Mary's guilt or innocence of the crimes of Bothwell, with very great ability. I could not ſatisfy myſelf with examining merely the original papers, without anxiouſly comparing and weighing the opinions and reaſonings of theſe illuſtrious commentators upon them. On the whole, it has appeared to me, that all theſe writers, in conſidering this ſubject, have either ſuffered

Amidst all this train of events, the Earl of Moray had not yet abandoned thoſe intrigues with the Duke of Norfolk, in which his own fears and the artifices of Maitland formerly engaged him. In theſe recent tranſactions, he might ſeem to be urged on by the neceſſities of his ſituation, and by the profound and vigilant policy of Elizabeth, not by a deſire to build up his own greatneſs upon the ruin of his ſiſter and Queen. As he returned, in triumph from the Engliſh Court, he ſtill artfully pretended to remain faithful to the ſpirit of his engagements with Norfolk. No ſooner was he ſafe in Scotland, than partly by the vigorous uſe of violence and ſurpriſe; in part, by the influence which his intrigue with Norfolk failed not to give him with ſome of the

Intrigues in England, in favour of Mary; and ſucceſſes of Moray in Scotland.

ſuffered themſelves to be miſled by the partialities of party, or have been fooliſhly betrayed into error by a vain paſſion for hiſtorical paradox, or have conſidered but *a part* of the evidence,—inſtead of expanding the comprehenſion of their minds, to graſp the whole. Thoſe by whom Mary has been acquitted, have acted rather as her advocates, than as an impartial and enlightened jury. Even they by whom ſhe has been condemned, have condemned her, rather becauſe they wiſhed her, than becauſe they knew her, to be guilty.

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Scottiſh nobles who ſtill adhered to the Queen; he diſarmed Mary's partizans throughout the kingdom, aboliſhed her authority, by negotiation firſt—and then by force brought even the Duke of Chattelherault to be the humble ſubject and the captive of his power, made the loyal Lord Herreis the companion of the Duke's impriſonment, and at laſt compelled even the Earls of Argyle and Huntley, who had the moſt obſtinately oppoſed his authority, to lay down their arms, and own him Regent. The ſucceſs of his intrigues in England, the fortunate activity with which he thus prevailed over his adverſaries at home, the general energy and vigilance of his whole adminiſtration, ſtill exalted his popularity and influence among thoſe reformers by whoſe agency he had been raiſed to greatneſs. In thoſe intrigues which were ſtill carried on in England, in Mary's favour, he was ſtill, by the mediation of his agents, a party. While he ruined his ſiſter's cauſe, it ſeemed as if he might ſnatch the prize of loyalty even from thoſe who had approved themſelves the moſt faithful of her adherents *.

Progreſs of theſe intrigues.

In England, in the mean time, thoſe intrigues which had been attempted in Mary's favour,

* Camden: Buchanan: Melville, &c.

favour, were rapidly advancing to a criſis. She was heir-apparent to the Engliſh Crown; and numbers of the Engliſh nobility were hence gradually drawn in by the arts of Maitland, by the influence of Norfolk, by patriotic regard for the future tranquillity of the kingdom, to intereſt themſelves zealouſly in her behalf. The unkindneſs of Elizabeth, inſtead of diſcouraging and cooling the zeal of theſe friends of Mary, ſerved but to quicken their activity, and to enhance their ardour. The Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, eminent among the chiefs of the Engliſh Roman-Catholics, were, for the ſake of their religion, eager in their devotion to Mary's intereſts. The Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, with the Lord Lumley, anxious to prevent the evils of a new conteſt for the Engliſh ſucceſſion,—or, it may be influenced by other motives; ſubſcribed a letter to the Scottiſh Queen; in which they recommended Norfolk to her as a huſband; engaged to co-operate for the purpoſes of reſtoring her to the Scottiſh throne, and of ſecuring to her the peaceable ſucceſſion to that of England, upon Elizabeth's death; required her, in the mean time, to pardon the rebellion of Moray and his partizans, to maintain in Scotland the Preſbyterian religion, to engage in a perpetual league

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league offensive and defensive with the English nation, and with Elizabeth their reigning Queen. Elizabeth's harshness to Mary, the perpetual efforts of the Roman-Catholics in her favour, the personal influence of her lover Norfolk, the fears of the English for a civil war, the loyalty and the artifices of Maitland, the pretended candour of Moray, had produced these exertions to restore Mary to power and honour. A divorce between Mary and Bothwell, was to be obtained from the Scottish clergy by the influence of Moray. When he hesitated and delayed, means were adopted for the accomplishment of this measure by the authority of the Romish Church alone. The contract of marriage between Mary and Norfolk was already signed. The combination was so extensive and so powerful, and had hitherto been so carefully concealed from Elizabeth; that it seemed likely to remain unknown, till all opposition on the part of Elizabeth would be utterly vain, and till she must of necessity acquiesce in what she could not frustrate*.

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They are defeated.

But, the plot was betrayed, ere it could be accomplished. The Earl of Leicester, or some other person of those who were conscious of

* Eosdem quos supra.

of it, unguardedly or treacherouſly ſuffered it to be diſcovered by Elizabeth. Moray, when he refuſed to promote the divorce, had already determined to oppoſe the reſtoration of his ſiſter's power and honour. To him, the ſucceſs of the plot could, at beſt, have given but a part of that which he already enjoyed. No ſooner were the machinations of Mary's friends openly known to Elizabeth and her miniſters, than the moſt obnoxious among them were placed in confinement. Mary herſelf was removed into more rigorous cuſtody in Tutbury-caſtle; and Norfolk was ſternly warned by Elizabeth, to relinquiſh his ambitious hopes and purſuits. Maitland in Scotland, was about the ſame time taken into cuſtody by the Regent; and had he not been, for the time, ſaved by Kirkaldy, by a flight, would perhaps have been immediately ſacrificed to Moray's fears and prudence. The Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, attempting to raiſe an inſurrection for Mary's deliverance, in the northern counties of England, were with little difficulty defeated, and forced to ſeek refuge by flight beyond the Scottiſh borders. Elizabeth, thus ſafe, and triumphant over the machinations of her enemies, was yet ſtill extremely anxious in reſpect to the choice of thoſe means

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means which might beſt ſecure her againſt any future attempts on the part of Mary. Amid her doubts and anxiety, ſhe had, at one time, almoſt reſolved to deliver up the Scottiſh Queen into the hands of her ambitious and guilty brother, and the furious Preſbyterians *.

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The Earl of Moray aſſaſſinated.

Moray, however, was not long to ſurvive and reign in a kingdom out of which he had expelled his ſiſter. Elizabeth's continued favour; her ſucceſs in defeating all the machinations which Mary's partizans contrived againſt her; his own good fortune in humbling and ſubduing almoſt all the remaining pride and ſtrength of Mary's party among the Scots; ſeemed for a while to crown the regency of Moray with the moſt flattering proſperity. But, on the twenty-third day of January, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy, his career was, at Linlithgow, ſuddenly cut ſhort by the hand of an aſſaſſin. Hamilton of Bothwelhaugh reſenting thoſe wrongs which his own family had ſuffered from the Regent's ſeverity, after the battle of Langſide-hill; willing alſo to become the avenger of Mary, and of the injuries

1570.

* Camden, &c.

injuries which the Hamiltons in general had ſuffered from Moray in her cauſe; awaited the Regent's paſſage through the ſtreet of Linlithgow, as he was on his way from Stirling to Edinburgh; with a muſket-ſhot from a window, laid his proud adverſary dying on the ground; and then by the back of the houſe from which he had aimed the fatal bullet, made his eſcape on a fleet horſe, beyond the purſuit of thoſe whom he had thus deprived of their chief *.

Character of Moray.

Of his character, little remains to be ſaid, after that diſplay of it which has been unavoidably made in the hiſtory of the Scottiſh nation, during the laſt thirty years before he was thus ſuddenly cut off. His talents were, from his earlieſt youth, ſuch as to diſtinguiſh him eminently among his contemporaries. His mind ſeems to have been, from the firſt, exalted by the conſciouſneſs of his royal, although baſe birth. Until the truths of the Reformation won his aſſent, and the mean acts of duplicity employed againſt the reformers, provoked his abhorrence; he ſeems to have been faithfully loyal to that government, which was adminiſtered in the name of his ſiſter. The preachers of the Reformation, and the nobles whom they had already gained, firſt taught him to conceive new views. Knox,

* Buchanan: Melville: Hume of Godſcroft, &c.

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whom nothing but the ſanctity and diſintereſtedneſs of his morals—as to all perſonal and groſs enjoyment, could perſuade us to regard with any thing of the admiration due to a good and a great man; ſeems to have been the *dæmon* or the *genius* that firſt whiſpered in Moray's ear, how eaſy it might prove for him, to aſcend to the higheſt honours, upon the ladder of religion! Deputed from the Preſbyterians, to invite his widowed ſiſter home from France; he was thus placed on the fore-ground in a manner that forced him to aſpire to become the leading adminiſtrator of the government, during her ſubſequent reign. Might he have adminiſtered the government, without oppoſition, and without the fear of degradation; he would moſt probably have continued inflexibly honeſt. Cabals formed againſt him; crimes undertaken or actually perpetrated, for the purpoſe of working his overthrow; the apparent neceſſity of employing artifice, if he were not willing to yield to the triumph of his enemies; gradually drove him to practiſe all the criminal arts of a ſtateſman; and to make ſtate-utility, or private utility, in all inſtances, the ultimate principles which were to guide him in regard to the right or wrong of his conduct. Having thus learned to act the ſtateſman and the politician, he muſt be confeſſed to have ever acted the part with

with the moſt conſummate ability. He was ever after ready to ſcruple at no crime which political utility ſeemed ſtrongly to recommend; but in all inſtances in which political utility did not recommend what was criminal, to adhere inflexibly to that which was right. Such was his character to the laſt! Ever the ableſt among his contemporaries: Ever virtuous, where vice and crime were not recommended by political utility: Ever ready in the laſt trial of rectitude, to be wicked and great, rather than to be ſteadily virtuous, and to be at the ſame time ruined!

Newhopes and efforts of Mary's party.

The aſſaſſination of the Regent appeared, as if it had been the ſignal to Mary's partizans in general, to take up arms, and aſſert the rights of their injured Queen. On the borders, Scott of Buccleugh, and Ker of Ferniherſt, no ſooner heard of the ſlaughter, than they led their vaſſals into England, upon a pillaging expedition, to revenge the fate of their friends, the Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, and, if poſſible, to involve their country in a war with England, which ſhould leave it no longer poſſible for the adverſaries of Mary to maintain their authority by the favour of Elizabeth. Kirkaldy of Grange, the governor of the

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caſtle of Edinburgh; friendly to Mary, ever ſince the conditions on which ſhe ſurrendered herſelf at Caerbury, had been violated by thoſe with whom he at that time acted; now ſet at liberty the Duke of Chattelherault, the Lord Herreis, and Maitland, who had been for ſome time his priſoners. Throughout the kingdom, the partizans of Mary took up arms. Verac, the ambaſſador of Charles the Ninth, arrived from France to encourage their efforts. Kirkaldy and Maitland were alone equal to an hoſt! Although the Duke of Chattelherault was a man of no powerful talents, his ſon Lord Claude, his brother the old Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, and Gavin Hamilton, Commendator of Kilwinning, poſſeſſed abilities which might be accounted ſufficiently adequate to guide the efforts of their party. Application was earneſtly made to Elizabeth in favour of Mary. It was hoped, that the liberation of this unfortunate Princeſs might now be obtained; and that ſhe might be reſtored, once more to reign on the throne of her fathers *.

Elizabeth aſſiſts the enemies of Mary.

But, though Moray was cut off, the party of which he had been the head, was ſtill ſtrong in men of talents. Morton was crafty, flagitious, bold, and yet ſufficiently cool. There were

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

were many not unworthy to ſecond him. Knox, with the clergy, and thoſe who were, for the ſake of religion alone, unfriendly to Mary, no ſooner ſeemed to themſelves to ſee the intereſts of the Reformation once more at ſtake, than they aroſe to defend its cauſe with an activity and an ardour which they might, otherwiſe, not have choſen to exerciſe. Elizabeth felt, that ſhe had proceeded too far in her meaſures for the oppreſſion of Mary, now to draw back; that Mary, if now ſet at liberty, under whatever conditions, could not well fail to become her mortal foe; that if Mary ſhould be reſtored to the Scottiſh throne, all thoſe efforts which ſhe had almoſt improved to ſucceſs, even while in captivity, would not fail to be renewed againſt Elizabeth's authority, and to be renewed with an energy that could ſcarcely fail to make them proſper. Elizabeth, therefore, liſtening to the repreſentations and the intreaties of Morton and his party, diſpatched without delay, a body of troops, at once to retaliate the hoſtilities of the Scottiſh borders, and again to give a deciſive preponderancy to the party of Morton, in the affairs of the Scottiſh government. The Earl of Suſſex, and theſe Engliſh forces under his command, were gladly met at Berwick by thoſe who called themſelves the King's party. Meaſures were quickly concerted between Morton and the

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English for the immediate ruin of all those who espoused the cause of the Queen. The Earl of Lennox, destined to the Regency, was conducted by the English forces, in triumph to Edinburgh. On the twelfth day of July, in the year one thousand five hundred and seventy, Lennox, a weak man, subject to be easily guided by Morton, was, by the unanimous consent of the whole party, exalted to the office of Regent. Since he was the grandfather of the infant King, it was natural to suppose that his exaltation must prove less invidious, than that of any other noble of the same party*.

Misfortunes of Mary's partizans.

The exaltation of Lennox to the Regency, did not immediately suppress Mary's party. Aided by the English troops, the friends of the King had already terribly wasted the possessions of the Hamiltons, and of others of their opponents. Lennox and those nobles who directed his counsels, were impatient to distinguish his regency by exercising vengeance on all who disowned its power. Assistance was sought, not in vain, from the Duke of Alva, the Spanish Governor of the Netherlands, for the support of the Catholic party in Scotland. Elizabeth once more for a while amused Mary and her friends, with the pretence of a friendly negotiation,

* Hume of Godscroft: Buchanan: Camden, &c.

tiation, which was after ſome time broken off, without advantage to them. The caſtle of Dunbarton, which, ever ſince the battle of Langſide-hill, had been maintained for Mary; was by a ſtratagem taken by Crawford of Jordanhill. Among other illuſtrious priſoners, Hamilton, the venerable Archbiſhop of St Andrew's here, fell into the hands of his enemies. In revenge for the aſſaſſination of the Earl of Moray by a Hamilton, the Archbiſhop was brought to periſh on the ſcaffold: and in him fell one of the chief ſupports at once of the intereſts of Mary, and of the Roman-Catholic church. In England, too, the illuſtrious Duke of Norfolk, having renewed his intrigues with Mary, in a manner ſtill more inconſiſtent than before with his due fealty to Elizabeth, was again unſucceſsful, was betrayed, and was, by Elizabeth's ſevere revenge, brought at laſt to die as a traitor on the ſcaffold. Every thing ſeemed ſtill to fruſtrate the hopes, and to enhance the miſeries of the unfortunate Mary*.

Yet, amidſt all her misfortunes, amid the ſucceſſes, the activity, and the vengeful triumphs of Lennox and his party in Scotland; the generous Kirkaldy, the politic and obſtinate Maitland, continued ſtill true to the cauſe of their Queen.

* Buchanan, &c.

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Queen. They were not averſe from negotiation; but they ſtill ſtrove to command reſpect by their active deeds in arms. From the caſtle of Edinburgh, which Kirkaldy now held, avowedly, for the intereſts of the Queen, they ſtill continued, with truly formidable energy to annoy her foes. At laſt, on the third day of September, in the

1571. year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy one; while the Regent and the Parliament ſat at Stirling; a bold enterpriſe, concerted by Kirkaldy, had well nigh proved fatal to Morton and his aſſociates. From Edinburgh, a powerful force was ſecretly led by the Earl of Huntley, Lord Claud Hamilton, and Scott of Buccleugh, to ſurpriſe the nobles aſſembled in Stirling. At the hour of four in the morning, they came upon their foes unwarned of their approach. *Think on the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's!* was the word among the Queen's ſoldiers. Many were ſlain; the town was ſpoiled; and the houſes were ſet on fire. Lennox, the Regent, periſhed amidſt the fray. At length, the fortunate reſiſtance of Morton, and the diſorder of the aſſailants, encouraged the party of the King to rally. The aſſailants were ſoon put to flight: And thoſe whom they had come to deſtroy and make captives, remained without other material loſs, than that of a Regent, whoſe feeble talents had

had been able to contribute but little to the ſtrength of their party *.

In England, in the mean time, the diſcovery of Norfolk's recent conſpiracy; the horror excited by the famous maſſacre of the Proteſtants, on St Bartholomew's day, in Paris; the threats which began to be murmured againſt the Engliſh Queen, by the moſt powerful Catholics abroad; the anxieties awakened for Elizabeth's life, by the reſtleſs agitation and plots of the Engliſh Catholics; and, added to theſe, the artful efforts of Elizabeth and her miniſters; had at length excited the Parliament to enact a law, by which it was declared to be high treaſon for any perſon to claim a right to the crown during the life of the reigning Queen, and by which the Parliament indirectly arrogated at the ſame time to itſelf, the right of regulating and limiting at its pleaſure the ſucceſſion to the kingly power: a law evidently intended to confound the efforts and intrigues of the friends of Mary, and to unite the whole kingdom in oppoſition to her pretenſions! To make the Court of France careleſs of Mary's fate, Elizabeth for ſome ſhort time, encouraged the amorous addreſſes of the Duke of Anjou, brother to the French Monarch. It was about this time, too, that the Duke of Norfolk periſhed on the ſcaffold.

Events and intrigues unfavourable to Mary.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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The tide of popular good will was thus turned, again, in favour of Elizabeth and of Proteſtantiſm. Neglected by her friends abroad; rendered odious to the greater part of the Engliſh; ſeeing no effects to reſult from the attachment of the few friends who yet remained to her in Scotland, ſave ruin to themſelves; Mary ſtill languiſhed out her days in hopeleſs captivity. And, her captivity was unavoidably embittered by the reflexion; that ſhe had at the firſt betrayed herſelf into this cruel and unjuſt confinement; and that every meaſure which neceſſity might urge her to employ for the purpoſe of accompliſhing her deliverance out of it, would, if unſucceſsful, be employed as a pretence for ſtraitening her impriſonment, and enhancing her ſufferings *.

Regency and death of the Earl of Marre.

The ſuffrages of that party who maintained in Scotland the authority of the infant King, quickly exalted the Earl of Marre to ſucceed Lennox in the Regency. Unſubdued in their loyalty to Mary, and in their hatred of her adverſaries; the Gordons in the north, and ſeveral others among the Scottiſh nobles, ſtill continued to prolong the civil war with deſperate gallantry, and ſometimes not without ſucceſs. But, Marre, one of the moſt honeſt men of the party over which he preſided, now ſhewed an earneſt diſpoſition

* Eoſdem, &c.

diſpoſition to diſtinguiſh his Regency by conciliating a peace between the two contending parties, which ſhould terminate their inteſtine diſcord, and heal the wounds of his unhappy country. While hoſtilities were, with conſiderable ſucceſs, eagerly urged by Morton and the Preſbyterians, againſt Kirkaldy and thoſe who, with him, occupied the town and caſtle of Edinburgh; a truce was, by the mediation of the ambaſſadors of France and England, negotiated between the contending parties; and the capture of the caſtle, and the fate of the generous Kirkaldy, were thus, yet for a while, delayed. During this truce, the treaty for a laſting pacification was diligently proſecuted between Kirkaldy and Maitland, on the one hand,—and Marre on the other. Both parties were ſincere. The treaty was almoſt finally concluded between them. But, Morton, jealous of Maitland's talents, and ſecretly excited by Elizabeth; now interpoſed to fruſtrate the benevolent and patriotic purpoſe of Marre. The treaty was, by his miſchievous endeavours, broken off; and Marre, with deſponding anxiety, ſaw the evils of inteſtine war about to be again more fiercely renewed. His health was feeble. His ſpirit was deeply wounded, by the conſciouſneſs of the wickedneſs of thoſe chiefs with whom he was aſſociated, and by the aſpect of the diſtreſſes of his country. After languiſhing for ſome ſhort

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time under a deep and ſettled melancholy, he ſank into a mortal illneſs, and died univerſally lamented, as not having left, behind him, among all his party, a better man *.

1572. Death of Knox.

About the ſame time died Knox, if not abſolutely the author, yet, in ſome ſort, the guardian-angel of the Reformation.—By machinations ſuggeſted by the avarice and the policy of Morton, arrangements had been recently introduced into the policy of the Preſbyterian church, of which it was impoſſible for Knox, the ſteady diſciple of Calvin, to approve. The firſt ſtep taken by the Reformers, when their preaching and their other efforts began to be crowned with ſucceſs, was, to appoint miniſters to preach and to celebrate the ordinances of religion, each in his reſpective diſtrict. When the number of the preachers had been augmented; miniſters were then fixed in ſmaller diſtricts, ſuch as particular pariſhes; and to maintain the general order, *ſuperintendents* were nominated, to exerciſe, with the aid of the provincial eccleſiaſtical courts, much of that power which had before belonged to the biſhops, with their chapters. Even this appointment of *ſuperintendents*, was a ſort of deviation from the plan of Calvin; yet, a deviation which the difference between the circumſtances of Scotland and thoſe

State of the Church.

* Melville: Anderſon: Calderwood, &c.

thoſe of a ſingle city, like Geneva, might well ſeem to juſtify. But, upon the forfeiture and execution of Hamilton, Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, Morton obtained for himſelf a grant of the revenues of that ſee. About the ſame time, he, in concert with other chiefs of his party, conceived the plan of renewing the Epiſcopal form of government, in the Scottiſh church. It was not difficult to find needy, ambitious, and money-loving clergymen, ready to make themſelves eagerly ſubſervient to the accompliſhment of this purpoſe. After this plan had been once ſettled; the biſhopricks, as they became vacant by the death of the old Catholic incumbents, were beſtowed upon Preſbyterian miniſters; while the temporalities were granted to the different nobles of the party, on the eaſy condition of allotting a reaſonable maintenance for the Proteſtant biſhop, out of the revenues of every one of the old biſhopricks. Whoever of the nobles, in theſe circumſtances, could obtain a grant of the temporalities of this or that biſhoprick, procured the office of its biſhop to the miniſter who would accept the ſmalleſt allowance for his Epiſcopal maintenance, out of its whole income. A proper mutual underſtanding was gradually eſtabliſhed between the clergy and the nobles of this whole Preſbyterian party. Knox and ſome of the elder preachers of the Reformation, might regard it with indignation and

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and ſorrow: But, *they* were now ſinking under age and infirmities; and the government of the church was of courſe to be adminiſtered by younger men. So unhappy was the ſtate of the affairs of that church of which Knox was the apoſtle, when he cloſed his life. He is to be regarded as a man of powerful abilities and high paſſions; whom an enthuſiaſtic conviction of the truths of the Reformation, elevated above all that was ſenſual, ſordid, or ſelfiſh; while it, at the ſame time, impelled him to employ with little ſcrupuloſity, various means which were not the moſt pure and honeſt, for the propagation and firm eſtabliſhment of thoſe truths which he had embraced with a belief ſo impaſſioned. There ſeems to have been no inconſiderable reſemblance between the character of Knox and that of his favourite the Earl of Moray. Moray poſſeſſed but a portion of the ardent fiery ſoul of Knox, and little of his diſintereſtedneſs: Knox poſſeſſed a part, and but a part, of the political ſagacity and addreſs of Moray *.

Character of Knox.

Vigorous adminiſtration of Morton.

Morton now at length obtained the Regency of the kingdom, to which he had for ſome time aſpired. The cuſtody of the young King's perſon remained with the family of Marre, who had, indeed,

* Calderwood: Buchanan: Knox's Hiſtory throughout, &c.

deed, for ſeveral generations retained a ſort of hereditary title to this high office. Morton was ſtrong in the ſupport of Elizabeth, and was faithfully devoted to her intereſts. But, Hamilton, Huntley, Kirkaldy, and Maitland, with their inferior adherents, ſtill compoſed a powerful party, who refuſed to acknowledge that authority which Morton was to adminiſter in the King's name, and ſtrove to reſtore the power, and to vindicate the liberty and honours of Mary. Unable to reduce all theſe adverſaries to ſubmiſſion, by the direct uſe of force alone; Morton, although he had lately fruſtrated the treaty of Marre, ſcrupled not, himſelf, to have recourſe to negociation. But, the generous and noble-minded Kirkaldy; when he might have obtained terms the moſt advantageous to his private intereſts, if he would have ſacrificed thoſe public principles, and thoſe views in favour of Mary, which had actuated all his late conduct; ſcornfully rejected ſuch a mean and ſelfiſh accommodation, and maintained his reſolution of never laying down his arms, while it ſhould appear poſſible for him to perform, by retaining them, even the ſlighteſt ſervice to his Queen. The caſtle of Edinburgh, of which he remained maſter, was a pledge too important to be lightly delivered up. Unſucceſsful with Kirkaldy, Morton next addreſſed himſelf to the heads of the houſes of Hamilton, Huntley, and Argyle.

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Weary of the conteſt, they ſoon agreed to ſubmit to his government, and to own the illegality of their oppoſition to the King's power, on condition of obtaining an amneſty for whatever they had done againſt him, and of being confirmed in the poſſeſſion of all their eſtates and privileges. Their vaſſals and dependents were likewiſe to ſhare the benefits of this treaty. Thus ſucceſsful in dividing and diminiſhing, by artful negociation, the ſtrength of his adverſaries; Morton no longer expreſſed any ſolicitude to conciliate a pacification with thoſe who held the caſtle of Edinburgh. Maitland, he viewed with vindictive jealouſy and hatred. And, if he needed not to dread the political talents of Kirkaldy; yet the inflexible integrity and the heroic valour of this gallant knight, could not be regarded by him without fear. Elizabeth was ready to aſſiſt the enterpriſe now projected by her creature Morton, with a ſufficient number of auxiliary ſoldiers. Aid in money and ſtores could not be very liberally tranſmitted to Kirkaldy from Mary's foreign friends, and was liable to be intercepted by the vigilance of Morton. The caſtle was at length cloſely inveſted. The beſiegers were cut off from all acceſs to ſupplies of proviſions. The walls were battered into a pile of ruins, by the force of artillery which Morton employed. The brave heart of Kirkaldy was ſtill unconquered. It was his wiſh to periſh

honeſt

honeſt and undiſgraced, amid the ruins. But the garriſon, now reduced to a ſcanty number, hopeleſs of relief, and in want of almoſt every neceſſary, over-ruled his purpoſe. They ſurrendered the ruins of the caſtle, their commander, and their own lives, to Morton's dark revenge. Meaner men might be ſpared and neglected. But, Kirkaldy, Maitland, and the brother of Kirkaldy, were doomed to die as traitors. A ſudden death, either by his own act, or by poiſon ſecretly adminiſtered from Morton, ſnatched Maitland from the ignominy of a public execution. The generous Kirkaldy, one of the moſt amiable and eſtimable of all the Scots of this age, periſhed on the ſcaffold, by the hand of the executioner, in the month of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-three. His brother, Sir James Kirkaldy, ſhared his fate. The efforts of the friends of Mary were thus finally ſuppreſſed; and Morton remained maſter of the whole kingdom *.

Death of William Kirkaldy of Grange.

Thus exalted to a height of power, and fixed in a ſecurity, which none of the former Regents had attained; Morton did not bear his faculties meekly. He ſtill continued to act as the devoted creature of England. He abuſed his authority to oppreſs thoſe whom he hated; to enrich, by diſhoneſt means, ſome of the baſeſt among his

Oppreſſive regency of Morton.

* Crawford: Hume of Godſcroft: Melville: Burrel, &c.

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own dependents; to gratify, in contempt of all the laws of juſtice and of religion, his own inordinate ambition, his inſatiable avarice, and thoſe groſs ſenſual paſſion, which divided with avarice and ambition, the ſway of his heart. The Preſbyterian clergy, the burgeſſes, and the meaner commons, who compoſed the great ſtrength of the King's party, endured his tyrannical crub with conſiderable patience, becauſe his abilities and crimes had given their cauſe to triumph. The nobles were, however, at length, excited to murmur. As the proſpect of the young King's aſſuming the reins of government, advanced; the odium againſt Morton became gradually ſtronger and bolder; and the general complaints of his tyranny and injuſtice, waxed ſtill more and more loud. A feud ariſing between the Earls of Athole and Argyle, afforded the Regent a fair pretence to interpoſe for the protection of that public peace which theſe Earls violated. His interpoſition, threatening ruin to both their houſes, quickly excited the two Earls to unite, and bid defiance to his power. In diſregard of his treaty with the Hamiltons, he ſought to confiſcate all their eſtates, upon the death of the Duke of Chatelherault, with whom that treaty had been made. An attempt to give the ſemblance of juſtice to his perſecution of this illuſtrious family by convicting the Lord Claud Hamilton of a conſpiracy againſt his life, was ſhamefully diſappointed. Even the more

more zealous among the clergy, perceiving his indifference to the intereſts of religion, began, at laſt, to look upon him with abhorrence. His power was ſtill great, and deeply rooted. But, a ſtorm ſufficient to ſhake it, was now faſt ariſing *. A. D. 1542 to 1580.

Morton diveſted of the regency.

UNDER the tuition of Alexander Erſkine, under the preceptorſhip of George Buchanan, the young King had, all this while, been carefully brought up at Stirling-caſtle. He had now arrived beyond that age, at which the laws of Scotland permit a minor to chuſe *curators* for himſelf. He was taught by thoſe around him, to aſpire to the exerciſe of that power in his own perſon, which Morton adminiſtered and abuſed in his name. Erſkine his governor, no doubt, conceived himſelf to be not leſs worthy of adminiſtering the ſupreme authority, than of directing his Sovereign's education. And the general diſcontents, which Morton's ſway had excited, at laſt encouraged Erſkine to try whether he might not ſucceed in degrading the proud Earl from his greatneſs. Buchanan refuſed not to aid, by his influence with the King, the deſigns of Erſkine. A council of the nobles was therefore, by Erſkine's contrivance, and with the aſſiſtance of the diſcontented Earls of Argyle and Athole, ſummoned to attend the King at Stirling. None were invited, except men who, it was well known, would be forward to adviſe the

 diſgrace

* Buchanan: Melville: Lindſay, &c.

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disgrace of the Regent. The council readily assembled. The King was declared to have assumed the reins of the government into his own hands. Morton was obliged to surrender the regency, with all the ensigns of its authority: and obtaining an act of approbation of his ministry while Regent, and a discharge for all his intromissions with the royal revenues; retired in humiliation, and under the exulting execrations of the people, to his castle of Dalkeith *.

Morton recovers his power.

But, those by whom this revolution was effected, wanted the abilities, the influence, and the mutual union, necessary to give stability to the new administration which they had formed. Feuds arose among some of the nobles who composed their party. Others, as being friendly to the ancient religion, were obnoxious to the jealousies and suspicions of the Presbyterian clergy, who, at this juncture, possessed no inconsiderable portion of political power. Morton having embezzled much of the revenue of the Crown, had left the government without those resources for expenditure, which were wanted to arm its powers with due energy. This crafty chief, discontent in the private station to which he had been reduced, soon strove to regain his ancient ascendency. His artifices stirred up the young Earl of Marre against Alexander,

* Hume of Godscroft: Melville: Calderwood, &c.

Alexander Erſkine, his uncle. Having thus ſown the ſeeds of miſchief among his enemies, Morton ſoon after found means to inſinuate himſelf into their counſels; conciliated the friendſhip of the Earls of Athole and Argyle; repaired again to the Court; was quickly in poſſeſſion of almoſt all his former power; and ſeemed to hold the King his priſoner in Stirling caſtle *. A. D. 1542 to 1580. 1578.

It was but a ſhort-lived triumph which he thus gained. The Earls of Athole, Montroſe, and Argyle, took up arms to reſcue their King out of his hands. They might have ſucceeded. But Bowes, the emiſſary of Elizabeth, interpoſing in behalf of Morton, ſo long the devoted creature of the Engliſh intereſts, alarmed them with the fear of her reſentment; and thus procured a pacification between the adverſe parties, which ſtill left to Morton, high influence in all the affairs of the ſtate. A ſocial banquet celebrated this new reconciliation. The Earl of Athole did not long ſurvive it: and his death was ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon, ſecretly adminiſtered by Morton, in the hours of convivial joy. No longer thwarted by a rival ſo formidable as Athole; Morton next ſet himſelf to ruin the houſe of Hamilton. By his advice, the eſtates of that houſe were unjuſtly confiſcated; and the two young

Is again attacked, yet ſaved.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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young lords, who were its moſt promiſing repreſentatives, were driven out to ſeek their ſafety in exile. A tender meſſage from Mary to her ſon, was, alſo, by his counſels, diſdainfully refuſed a hearing from James. Every thing went on, as yet, in a train fitted to confirm all the acts of Morton's regency *.

But, the hour of his irrevocable ruin, was now on the wing. About this time arrived from France, Eſmè Stuart, Lord D'Aubignè; the repreſentative in France of Stuart Earl of Buchan, the couſin of King James the Firſt of Scotland; and the ſon of the late Earl of Lennox, the grandfather of the preſent James, the young Scottiſh King. Eſmè Stuart's oſtenſible reaſon for coming to the Scottiſh Court, was, to ſolicit from his couſin James, a grant of the eſtates and titles of the family of Lennox. He was in truth an emiſſary deſpatched from the French Court, to inſinuate himſelf into the favour of the young Scottiſh Monarch, to undermine the influence of Morton and of the Engliſh at the Scottiſh Court, to win James to devote himſelf, as his anceſtors had done, to the alliance and the views of France. Eſmè Stuart was young, amiable, accompliſhed, the near relation of the royal youth in whoſe Court he preſented himſelf. James was prone, as inexperienced and ingenuous minds

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

minds always are, to enter into the fondeſt intimacy of friendſhip, with any perſon fitted to attract his kindneſs. Stuart had not long reſided in the Scottiſh Court, when he was loaded with almoſt every honour and emolument which James could beſtow; and poſſeſſed his royal couſin's confidence ſo entirely, that almoſt every meaſure of the government was dictated by his advice. Created Duke of Lennox, he thought it neceſſary to eſtabliſh his influence, that he ſhould, at leaſt oſtenſibly, profeſs himſelf a proſelyte to the Preſbyterian faith. His converſion from Popery, averted much odium which might otherwiſe have fallen upon him: And the mildneſs of his character ſeemed to render him, perhaps, the leaſt unworthy favourite that ſuch a Prince as James could chuſe. James's favour gave his young couſin conſiderable wealth and authority: And this wealth and authority ſerved to attract about him, a party whoſe ſupport could not but ſtrengthen the royal power againſt thoſe nobles by whom it had been long overruled. With the Duke of Lennox, there aroſe, alſo, into the young Monarch's favour, James Stuart, a younger ſon of the family of Ochiltree, and captain of the royal guard; a man much more wicked and profligate than Lennox, and whom the imprudent partiality of James ſoon enriched with the earldom of Arran. Theſe were the perſons deſtined to overthrow the proud and deeply-rooted great-

neſs

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neſs of Morton.——The citizens of Edinburgh hated Morton, who was, however, all-powerful at Stirling. By the advice of his favourites, therefore, James ſummoned his parliament to aſſemble at Edinburgh, in the month of October, in the year

1579. one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-nine. The courſe of affairs was conducted, at its meeting, in a train which evinced to Morton, that his power was quickly to expire. In the fear of conſcious guilt, with the impotent graſping of ambition, he acted in ſuch a manner as to excite a ſuſpicion that he was conſpiring to ſeize the King's perſon, and to deliver him into the power of Elizabeth. Alexander Erſkine added his influence to that of the party of the Duke of Lennox and the Earl of Arran. Elizabeth in vain interpoſed, with threats, advices, and artifices, to avert the fall of her creature Morton. He was accuſed, taken into cuſtody, brought to trial. His enemies were his judges: His friends wanted influence to ſave him. He was condemned to ſuffer the death of a traitor. And, as James's preſent favourites were willing to exculpate his mother from thoſe imputations, under which ſhe languiſhed in captivity: the crime of having been an accomplice in the murder of the King's father, was the moſt hainous of thoſe charges of guilt, under which Morton was condemned. The crimes, under the accuſation of which he now fell, were not the moſt flagitious

deeds of his life. He was perhaps, in a great measure innocent of them: For the King would not recall that approbation of Morton's regency which he had formerly granted: And while his regency was left unimpeached, it was leſs eaſy to find out in the other tranſactions of his life, juſt cauſe for his condemnation. It is probable, that the conſciouſneſs of his innocence of the charges for which he was condemned, might ſerve to hinder his conſcience from being, amid his laſt diſtreſs, afflicted by the recollection of that long train of profligate and flagitious deeds, which he had actually committed. He met his fate with ſerenity and firmneſs: And when he was brought to the ſcaffold, ſeemed to triumph over his enemies, in the aſſured hope of a happy immortality. In talents, Morton was not inferior to Moray, Maitland, Knox, or Kirkaldy; the moſt illuſtrious of thoſe great men who acted with him, upon the ſame theatre of public affairs. But, he was certainly the moſt ſelfiſh, treacherous, and immoral of them all. Even Moray and Maitland appear to have had conſiderably more of honeſty than Morton. It was in the ſummer of the year one thouſand five hundred and eighty one, that Morton terminated his career on the ſcaffold *.

Those nobles, at whoſe inſtigation Mary had

* Melville: Calderwood; Hume of Godſcroft, &c.

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had been dethroned and driven into captivity, had now all perished. But, the principles and the system of government which they had introduced, were too firmly established, to be overthrown. The chiefs who in defence of Mary's rights, opposed them, had been likewise cut off.—The Presbyterian, Burgesses, and the other Commons, the great engines by means of whom Moray and Morton had atchieved their principal purposes, still retained their pristine influence and spirit. Elizabeth, by means of her ambassadors, her spies, and Scots who, to serve her, betrayed their country; still contrived to exercise a sort of over-ruling superintendence and vigilance over the affairs of Scotland. Mary from her prison, could do little in order to obtain justice from her subjects, and her son. The Court of France, and the powerful and restless Monarch of Spain, were too busily occupied in opposing Protestantism in their own dominions, to direct their cares to such a distance as Scotland, with any considerable efficacy. Even James once seated on the throne, could hardly be very willing to descend from it, in order to give place to his injured mother.

Hopeless condition of Mary.

A faction of the nobles make themselves masters of the King's person, & remove his favourites from his presence.

Yet, while Lennox and Arran were the favourites and ministers; the French interest became gradually more popular at the Scottish Court. The

The old nobles were ſoon inflamed with envy of the upſtarts. The flagitious and inſolent manners of Arran were ſuch as could not poſſibly fail to give general offence. Elizabeth took the alarm. Above all, the Scottiſh clergy were ſoon tranſported with the fears of Popery and apoſtacy, and filled the kingdom with their angry clamours, and with the infection of their rage. James with his two favourites paſſed their time uſually at Dalkeith, the ſeat of Lennox, or at Kinneil, the ſeat of Arran, in youthful amuſements, ſuch as did not well accord with the cares of government, and could not but give offence to the puritanical zeal of the Scots. His favourites gradually became not leſs unpopular than Morton had been, in the ſeaſon of his moſt impotent and licentious tyranny. At laſt the Earls of Marre, Glencairn, and Gowrie, the Lords Lindſay, and Boyd, with other Barons, entering into a combination, made themſelves ſuddenly maſters of the King's perſon, at Hunting-tower near Perth, as he was on his return from taking the amuſement of the chace for ſome time, in the diſtrict of Athole. The clergy ſoon zealouſly approved, and called the nation to approve, this bold enterprize. Maſters of James's perſon, theſe nobles made themſelves ſoon alſo maſters of his power. Lennox was, after various delays, and not without infinite reluctance, obliged at laſt to depart for France; where he ſoon after died.—

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Arran was likewiſe exiled from his Sovereign's preſence, and commanded to confine his reſidence to his houſe of Kinneil. Ambaſſadors from foreign nations interpoſed without ſucceſs, to demand that James ſhould be again ſet at liberty. Elizabeth lent her encouragement to thoſe who confined his perſon and uſurped his authority: And the Scots in general had been now too long accuſtomed to treat the perſons of their Sovereigns with the utmoſt freedom and diſreſpect *.

James recovers his liberty and authority.

At laſt, James, by the aid of the Stuarts, the family of Arran, and of ſome other nobles acting in concert with them, found means to intereſt his keepers in his favour, and to recover his liberty. Viſiting, with their permiſſion, the caſtle of St Andrews; he cauſed its gates to be ſhut, at a time when none but his confidential ſervants were yet admitted; and thus excluded from his preſence, all thoſe by whom his authority had been lately uſurped. His next meaſure was, to ſummon around him, all thoſe nobles who were adverſe to the faction, out of whoſe hands he had eſcaped, and faithfully loyal in their duty to him. But, the party who were thus diveſted of power, found themſelves ſtill ſufficiently ſtrong, not to dread their Sovereign's reſentment. Elizabeth's interpoſition was ready to intercede for their reſtoration to his favour: but

* Melville: Calderwood, &c.

but they even ſcornfully refuſed to avail themſelves of his proffered pardon. James had not long recovered his freedom, when the Earl of Arran was again gladly admitted into his preſence, and reſtored to all his former influence in the adminiſtration of the government. Arran having regained his aſcendency, ſoon inſtigated James to meaſures of ſeverity againſt thoſe who had lately confined his royal perſon, which, inſtead of leaving them ſo arrogant as to ſcorn forgiveneſs, and maintain that they had done no wrong, alarmed them for their very perſonal ſafety. Walſingham, the ambaſſador of Elizabeth, coming at this time to the Scottiſh Court; was impreſſed with perhaps too favourable an idea of James's abilities; yet failed not to intrigue, according to the wonted practice of Engliſh policy, with that faction of James's ſubjects, which lay now under their Sovereign's diſpleaſure. If James's former government had been weak; yet *their* mode of correcting it had been unqueſtionably illegal and traitorous. James, finding that he had now the power, and being ſtill inſtigated by his favourites, would not forego his revenge. The clergy, who made themſelves the accomplices of thoſe traitorous nobles, felt alſo the effects of James's anger: and Andrew Melvile, the moſt eminently obſtinate and bold among them, was obliged to provide for his ſafety by flight into England. The Earl of Gowrie, at whoſe houſe

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James's perſon had been ſeized, was taken into confinement, brought to trial, condemned, and at Stirling beheaded. The new attempts of the accomplices of Gowrie, were fruſtrated. After preſuming to take arms againſt their Prince without ſucceſs, they retired in fearful haſte, into voluntary exile. In a ſubſequent parliament, held in the month of May, in the year one thouſand

1584. five hundred and eighty-four, new laws were enacted, to reduce the turbulent and at this time powerful clergy, entirely under the controul of the royal power. The refractory miniſters of Edinburgh oppoſed the execution of this law; till, to eſcape from James's indignation, they were all obliged to flee into England *.

Wrongs of Mary.

In the mean while, the miſeries of Mary's ſituation, inſtead of being alleviated, were ſtill enhanced: and the injuſtice and ſeverity of Elizabeth towards her unfortunate couſin, ſerved only to aggravate the anxieties and the danger of her own condition. Mary's guilt and folly had at the firſt weakened her hands, ſo as to humble her before her own ſubjects. Careleſs of what law, juſtice, and loyalty required; they thought only of taking advantage of their Queen's miſconduct, in order to ſecure their own ſafety, to gratify their own ambition, and to confirm that new eccleſiaſtical

* Melville.

tical eſtabliſhment, which they had introduced into their country. Extreme inconſiderateneſs had betrayed her into the power of her rival Elizabeth. Elizabeth, like Mary's diſloyal ſubjects, conſulted nothing but the ſuggeſtions of ſelfiſhneſs, and of diſhoneſt policy in her conduct towards her unfortunate couſin. However guilty Mary might be, the *feudal policy* conferred on her ſubjects no other power againſt her guilt, than that of refuſing in Parliament whatever conceſſions ſhe might aſk, otherwiſe than upon reciprocal conditions from her, which ſhould ſerve, in ſome meaſure, to puniſh and check her guilt. However dangerous her rivalſhip to Elizabeth; the *law of nations* gave Elizabeth no other power with reſpect to her, than that of either entertaining her in freedom and with royal hoſpitality, or elſe commanding her inſtantly to depart out of the Engliſh dominions,—of either aiding her againſt her rebellious ſubjects, or elſe refuſing her all countenance and aſſiſtance. However fortunate may have been the conſequences of the crimes perpetrated againſt Mary by the Scottiſh Reformers and the Engliſh Queen; we are not to conſider the guilt of thoſe crimes, as having been, for this reaſon, in the firſt inſtance the leſs. To depoſe Mary, to drive her into exile, to detain her in confinement, to offer to bring her to trial, to amuſe and torment her by ten thouſand falſe pretences, were ſo many cruel injuries

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injuries which might ſeem to juſtify almoſt any mode of defence and reciprocal attack, employed on her part againſt their authors. Her matrimonial negociations with Norfolk; the attempts made, with her knowledge, to intereſt the Engliſh parliament, in her favour; the ſucceſſive conſpiracies which ſhe fomented againſt Elizabeth; her endeavours to draw the arms of foreign powers to invade the iſle for her ſake;—— with all the efforts of her partizans, both in Scotland and England for her deliverance; muſt be regarded as laudable and juſt, when regarded in compariſon with her wrongs. Even at this time, and in almoſt her loweſt diſtreſs, ſhe ſtill continued to ſtir up conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth's life, and to torture that Princeſs's mind with continual and agonizing ſuſpicions. The Catholic Princes abroad, ſeem to have conſidered Elizabeth the cruel oppreſſor of Mary, and the principal foe of their religion, as being their common enemy. The ambitious Philip of Spain, was meditating a mighty deſign to conquer England, to deliver Mary, to chaſtiſe with terrible ſeverity the ally of his ſeditious ſubjects in the Netherlands, to reſtore Britain once more to the empire of the Catholic church. Even James, while under the influence of ſuch a miniſter as Arran, while occaſionally expreſſing ſome ſhare of pity for his mother's wrongs, while indignantly ſenſible of the intrigues of England

land to corrupt the loyalty of his ſubjects, began to be feared by Elizabeth, almoſt as his mother had formerly been. Elizabeth found herſelf in the condition of thoſe perſons whom ſelfiſhneſs hurries onward from guilt to guilt: Every former crime ſtill appearing to render ſome more atrocious new one neceſſary. She began now to be fully perſuaded, that her own ſafety could be ſecured by no other means, than by putting the Queen of Scots to death. Her own Proteſtant ſubjects ſympathiſed with her feelings. The cataſtrophe of Mary's tragedy was now near *.

James's adminiſtration; and Elizabeth's conduct in reſpect to him and his mother.

James continued to conduct himſelf, in thoſe difficult circumſtances in which he ſtood, with no contemptible addreſs. He had now attained to a conſiderable maturity of age. His talents far from mean, had been ſufficiently exerciſed by George Buchanan, his tutor, in the literature and erudition which were the moſt faſhionable in that age. His governors, regents, and courtiers, had failed, indeed, to do him equal juſtice, in reſpect to a practical knowledge of human buſineſs and affairs. Buchanan was now no more. James had been for a while emancipated from all preceptorſhip and tutelage. Arran and ſome other worthleſs favourites, had ſtill but too much influence about his Court. Yet, it muſt be owned; that, to humble the clergy,

* Cambden: Melville: &c.

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to retain the favour of the Preſbyterians, not to offend too deeply the Catholics at home and abroad, to make himſelf reſpected yet not hated by Elizabeth; were preciſely thoſe objects to which it became James to direct his policy: and that he attained all theſe objects, with a degree of felicity, which ought to reflect no inconſiderable reputation on his political talents. Elizabeth, amid her fears of a Spaniſh invaſion, deigned at length to ſolicit James's cloſe alliance, and to gratify him, as the heir apparent to her crown, with a penſion of five thouſand pounds a-year. The baniſhed nobles were, by her influence, once more reſtored to their country; and with the heirs of the Houſe of Hamilton, obtained the pardon of their treaſon, and the reſtoration of their eſtates and honours. James himſelf had, for a time, almoſt become the minion of the Engliſh intereſts. Arran, at laſt deprived of the fond favour of his King, was diveſted of thoſe eſtates and honours of the Hamiltons, in which he had for a while triumphed, and fell back into the humiliation of his priſtine condition. That cloſe alliance which Elizabeth deſired, was contracted with England. Even the new favourites who aroſe around James, were the creatures of the Engliſh Queen. Elizabeth, receiving new provocation from Mary, began to be ſatisfied, that ſhe need no longer heſitate, out of reſpect for James, to put his mother to death*.

A

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

A conſpiracy againſt the life of Elizabeth, and to effect the deliverance of Mary, in which the principal agent was a perſon of the name of Babington; was detected in England. The Queen of Scots was accuſed as an accomplice in its guilt. Elizabeth and her Council, without delay, inſtituted a trial, to convict Mary of this crime: And her condemnation and execution were ſpeedily to cloſe the whole. Commiſſioners were ſent for this purpoſe, to Fotheringay where Mary was now confined. They ſummoned her before their tribunal; but ſhe diſdained their juriſdiction. The Lord Burleigh, with a number of the Engliſh nobles, compoſed the court. While Mary denied their right to bring her to trial, had ſhe even been guilty; ſhe however failed not to aſſert her own innocence. The trial laſted for two days. But, it was not till after ſome farther delay, that the Commiſſioners ventured to pronounce her guilty. Elizabeth contrived to procure her parliament—to approve theſe tranſactions, and to preſs for the execution of the condemned Queen. James, in vain, made ſome eager efforts to avert his mother's approaching fate. The interpoſition of France proved alſo vain. The ſentence pronounced againſt Mary was made public; and the Scottiſh clergy ſeemed to exult in the proſpect of the immediate murder of a perſon whom they ſo abhorred. Still however Elizabeth heſitated, and was afraid to

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Unjuſt trial, condemnation and execution of Mary.

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command the laſt act. She wiſhed that Mary might be cut off by aſſaſſination; ſo that ſhe herſelf might have reaped the benefit, without ſharing the odium of the crime. She could find none ſufficiently baſe or imprudent to perpetrate ſuch a deed. At laſt, the fatal order was formally iſſued. The Earls of Kent and Shrewſbury were diſpatched to ſee it carried into execution. Mary took leave of her ſervants with tenderneſs; intruſted Sir Robert Melville with her laſt commands to her diſtant friends; ſoothed and compoſed her feelings, by warmly celebrating the ſuitable exerciſes of her religion; and then, with becoming fortitude, met her end. She was thus unjuſtly beheaded, in the forty-fifth year of her age, after more than eighteen years of captivity, in the beginning of the month of February, in the year one thouſand five hun-

1587. dred and eighty ſeven. Elizabeth pretended to lament her death, and diſgraced the miniſter by whom the order for execution had been diſpatched: Vain hypocriſy! *

Her character.

Of the character of Mary, after the preceding detail of her life and misfortunes, there remains little to be here added. The errors of her early years, may be reaſonably imputed to her perſonal accompliſhments, her high fortune, her inexperience, the baſe flattery and political hypocriſy of thoſe

* Melville's Memoirs, &c.

thoſe by whom ſhe was ſurrounded. Had ſhe not been ſtopped ſhort in that career of guilt and error; perhaps ſhe might have gone on with Bothwell from bad to worſe, till ſhe had reached the laſt extreme of human depravity. But, her ſufferings purified her character, corrected her evil paſſions, exalted and confirmed all her virtues. Had ſhe, after her long misfortunes, been at length reſtored to reign, and had her mind not been then warped by religious prejudices; ſhe would perhaps have done higher honour to the throne, than any among all her royal contemporaries. Her talents were not at all inferior to thoſe of Elizabeth. But, ſhe was younger and more inexperienced, when called to reign; and her paſſions were, at that time, leſs under the controul of her reaſon. Dying by an unjuſt death; ſhe naturally felt, in her dying hours, all the ſerenity of innocence; having long endeavoured to make her peace with Heaven, by humble penitence, for all the crimes and errors of her former life.

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A.D. 1587 to 1604.

Chapter IX.

From the Murder of Mary, to the Acceſſion of James to the Engliſh Throne.

Progreſs of affairs in the Scottiſh Court.

JAMES had been ardently ſincere in his endeavours to ſave his mother's life. But, ſince her fate was not to be recalled, ſince more than half even of his own ſubjects exulted in her fall, ſince Elizabeth condeſcended to put on the guiſe of ſorrow, and to ſoothe him by falſe pretences and apologies, ſince his own perſonal intereſts were in truth rather promoted than injured by his mother's death; he ſoon calmed his reſentment, without perſiſting to wreak it in any impotent efforts of hoſtility againſt the Engliſh Queen. Gray, however, once his favourite, and upon this late occaſion his ambaſſador in England, was, in conſequence of the treachery with which he had contributed to the failure of the purpoſe of his embaſſy, deprived of his injured Sovereign's favour. Captain Stuart, once Earl of Arran, now deſpoiled and degraded, yet not entirely diſcarded from all influence with James; ſeized the occaſion againſt Gray, by whom he had been formerly ſupplanted; accuſed him as a traitor; and procured him to be driven into perpetual baniſhment. This was the laſt diſtinguiſhed effort of Stuart's influence. He ſank into neglect and inſignificance. Maitland,

the younger brother of him who had periſhed with Kirkaldy, was now exalted to the office of Chancellor; and for a while, the weight of James's adminiſtration ſeems to have reſted chiefly with him *.

James's conduct in regard to the Preſbyterians and the Catholics.

James had now a part of conſiderable difficulty to act. His revenues were ſcanty in proportion to his neceſſary expenditure. It was requiſite for him, to make himſelf a favourite with the Proteſtants in both Scotland and England, in order to remain ſecure upon his own throne, as well as to preſerve the hopes of inheriting that of England. But the Scottiſh Preſbyterians were fierce, jealous, ſeditious, and diſpoſed to arrogate to themſelves almoſt all the juſt power of their Sovereign. It was almoſt equally his intereſt, to gain the favour of the Popiſh parties in Scotland and England, and to avoid the enmity of the Popiſh powers abroad; leſt theſe ſhould ſtrive to diſturb his reign, and to oppoſe his pretenſions. Yet, he could ſcarcely make himſelf acceptable to the Catholics, without alarming to fury the jealouſies of the Proteſtants. Amidſt theſe difficulties, this young Monarch, ſtill with no mean addreſs ſteadily and ſincerely adhered to the Proteſtant cauſe, of which he was in ſome ſort the nurſeling; yet ſoothed the Catholics by a tenderneſs for their intereſts, which inclined ſome of

* Melville, Spottiſwood, Calderwood, &c.

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of them fondly to hope, that he might one day declare more openly in their favour. To the over-ruling influence of Elizabeth even in his own kingdom, he ſubmitted with a tolerably good grace; yet ſhewed, that he knew at times, to aſſert his independence, and to make his Majeſty and his perſonal talents reſpectable in her eyes. The refractory Preſbyterian clergy, he ſtill ſtruggled, with various ſucceſs, to humble. To ſupply the deficiency of his income, he procured all the remaining revenues of the former church, ſave only the tithes, to be appropriated to the Crown. This act, taking away the rents of thoſe biſhops who had been introduced by Morton into the Preſbyterian church, was on this account highly grateful to all the more zealous among its other miniſters*.

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A Spaniſh invaſion of Britain threatened.

But, Philip of Spain, although he had failed to deliver Mary from her captivity, was now haſtening to avenge her death. Sovereign of the Netherlands, of Spain, of dominions in Italy, and of an immenſe empire in the American hemiſphere; he, in conſequence of this extent, and this diſperſion of his dominions, of the vaſt outline of ſea-coaſt which they embraced, and of the commercial wealth and activity by which they were enriched; was maſter of far the moſt powerful naval force in Europe. His military forces on land were not diſproportioned

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

diſproportioned to the greatneſs of his navy. He had now nearly equipped a mighty fleet, on board which, a great number of troops to act on land, were at the ſame time ready to embark. The conqueſt of the Britiſh iſle, was the deſtined enterpriſe on which they were to ſail. James, the proud Spaniſh Monarch condeſcended to court, to become the ally of his invaſion, that Elizabeth alone might fall its victim. Although unſucceſsful with James; he, however, won ſeveral partizans among the Scottiſh nobles, ſuch as the Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford; and ſucceeded in reviving all the intrigues and the hopes of the Catholic party among the Scots. Elizabeth, while ſhe earneſtly made every poſſible preparation to oppoſe the invaders; again with more courteous condeſcenſion, with more ample offers of favour, with an application which ſeemed rather to ſolicit than to over-rule; ſought to bind James's views and intereſts inſeparably with her own. James returned an ardently favourable anſwer to her ambaſſadors, checked the motions and intrigues of the Spaniſh emiſſaries, and ſhewed himſelf determined to triumph or to periſh with the Proteſtant intereſts. The Spaniſh fleet, vainly named the *Invincible Armada*, at laſt ſet ſail. A ſtorm ariſing, ſhattered and diſperſed their mightieſt ſhips, and drove them weſtward from the Engiſh ſeas. The ſmall veſſels of the Engliſh, from their lower

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ſtructure and inferior ſize leſs liable to injury from the tempeſt; attacked the lofty ſhips of Spain with great advantage, deſtroyed many of them, and made many their prizes. Of thoſe Spaniſh veſſels which eſcaped the purſuit of the Engliſh, and weathered out the firſt fury of the ſtorms, not a few ſought their way between Britain and Ireland, and around the north-weſt coaſts of Scotland. But, the whole nation had bound themſelves, before the Lord, in ſolemn *covenant* with their King, to meet the invaders with nothing but unrelenting hoſtility. On the coaſt of Galloway, among the Hebudian iſles, among the Orkneys, in narrow ſeas, and on unknown coaſts, moſt of thoſe huge Spaniſh ſhips of war were fatally wrecked; and their wrecked remains became the prey of the Scots. Yet, James, with a humanity highly worthy of a Monarch, received with kind hoſpitality about ſeven hundred of thoſe Spaniards who were thus caſt away on his ſhores, and ſent them away in due time to their own land, in ſafety and in peace. Thus were the boaſts of Philip fruſtrated; the fears of England happily cloſed in triumph; and the naval ſtrength of her moſt formidable foe ſo fatally waſted, that it could not again ſpeedily become dangerous *.

James,

* Melville: Calderwood, Cambden, &c.

James, by the ſteady energy with which he on this occaſion attached himſelf to the Proteſtant cauſe, failed not to make himſelf conſiderably acceptable to the Proteſtants throughout Britain. But, when the danger had overblown, Elizabeth no more remembered thoſe laviſh offers which had been lately made to him in her name. The Earls of Huntley, Errol, and Crawford, with ſome others of James's ſubjects, continued ſtill to intrigue with Philip, till they were repeatedly detected, humbled, confined; yet by James's artful lenity, after no long impriſonment again ſet at liberty. The Preſbyterian clergy ſtill arrogated to themſelves the right of cenſuring James's government, and of alarming his people from time to time into ſedition againſt him; but were from time to time checked and humbled by the Monarch's vigilance. Elizabeth renewed her intrigues to diſturb the Scottiſh government; yet began gradually to feel, that, while ſhe muſt ſink under the infirmities of age, her ſubjects would ſtill turn their eyes more and more upon James her expected ſucceſſor *.

James had now advanced in age, to the prime of manhood. His youth had not been made notorious by any licentious amours. But, it was his own wiſh, as well as that of his people,

* Cambden, Melville, &c.

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and even of the Engliſh, that he ſhould be united in marriage to ſome Princeſs worthy of his bed.

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The jealous and capricious Elizabeth ſhewed herſelf deſirous to oppoſe and thwart his hopes of marriage, as ſhe had formerly thwarted thoſe of his mother. She engaged even his own miniſters, and particularly, as was ſuſpected, Chancellor Maitland, to ſecond her views. But James's people were impatient for his marriage. Their bold zeal triumphed over the artifices of his miniſters. A ſplendid embaſſy was at length diſpatched to the Court of Denmark: And Anne, the ſecond daughter of the Daniſh Monarch, was granted to the wiſhes of the Scottiſh King. While ſtorms delayed the return of his ambaſſadors with his ardently expected bride; James, with lover-like eagerneſs, no longer brooking delay, went on board a veſſel, ſailed to Denmark, conſummated his marriage, and after paſſing, there, ſome months in feſtivity and joy, returned in ſafety home with his Queen, and was joyfully received by the whole Scottiſh nation *.

One of the firſt unpleaſing acts of government, which James was called to exerciſe, after his return out of Denmark; was, to take cognizance of the treaſonable imprudence of his couſin, Francis Stuart.

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

Stuart. This young man, the ſon of one of the natural children of James the Fifth, had for a time obtained, in ſome ſort, the rank of a favourite at his couſin's Court, and had been created Earl of Bothwell. He had giddily conſulted ſome pretended ſorcerers, concerning the future fortunes of James's reign: and theſe perſons being brought to trial, in this age in which witchcraft was accounted one of the moſt real and the moſt ſerious of crimes; made known, amid their confeſſions, the folly of young Bothwell. But, the facility of James's nature, and the principles of his policy inclining him, at this time, to pardon almoſt every crime; the Earl was only caſt for a ſhort time into confinement. Impatient even of this ſlight puniſhment, he made his eſcape out of priſon, and haſtening to the north, ſet his Sovereign at defiance. Huntley was commiſſioned to purſue him, and to ſuppreſs his rebellion. Under this commiſſion, Huntley's moſt remarkable atchievement was, the ſudden aſſaſſination of the young Earl of Moray; an act which was ſuppoſed to have been prompted by James's amorous jealouſy, and which, in ſpite of the clamours of the nation, James would not rigorouſly puniſh. Bothwell and his adherents now lay under attainder, yet ſtill lurked in the kingdom; and ſoon made an attempt to ſeize the King's perſon at Falkland, which was with difficulty fruſtrated. A new Popiſh plot,

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plot, contrived by the emiſſaries and creatures of Spain, aroſe within no long time after, to give a new alarm to the nation, but was happily detected, diſappointed, and with a reaſonable ſeverity puniſhed. James's miniſter, Maitland, becoming, ſoon after, obnoxious to the Queen, and with her to the whole nobles of the name of Stuart; a new intrigue was concerted, to remove him from the preſence and favour of his Sovereign, by the agency of the turbulent rebel Bothwell. Bothwell thus encouraged and ſupported, made himſelf maſter of the King's perſon at Holyroodhouſe, and, with his party, was for ſome few weeks able to controul the royal power. James ſoon ſhook off this diſhonourable yoke, called a convention of his nobles, and obliged the rebellious Bothwell to ſeek his ſafety in exile. The Popiſh rebels, while James's anger was turned againſt his couſin, once more ſolicited, and too eaſily obtained their Sovereign's pardon. A new attempt, made by Bothwell, in a ſudden expedition from the border, was again diſappointed; and that rebel was at laſt obliged to ſeek refuge on the continent, where he, after ſome time, died in ignominy and want. Still inſtigated by Spain, and ſupplied with money from the Netherlands, the Popiſh Lords, Huntley and Errol, with their partizans, continued to diſturb their Sovereign's government by repeated acts of ſedition, till

James

James was at laſt obliged to march againſt them in arms. After reducing them to extreme humiliation and diſtreſs, he compelled them to retire into voluntary exile on the continent. Their efforts had injured, more than ſerved the Popiſh cauſe: Yet, that reluctant ſeverity, which they had compelled James to exerciſe againſt them, failed not to offend the whole Roman Catholic party; who began now to declare themſelves in oppoſition to his claims to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. Amidſt theſe tranſactions, the death of Chancellor Maitland, deprived James of a miniſter who had ſerved him with faithfulneſs and with ability, and whoſe death the Monarch ſincerely regretted. A. D. 1587 to 1604. 1595.

Endeavours to regulate the ſtate of his finances, by the inſtitution of a new board of eight perſons for the management of his revenues; the intrigues of the courtiers againſt thoſe who were the miniſters of his power; the deſperate turbulence of the Preſbyterian church, who arrogated to themſelves a cenſorial civil authority, ſuperior to all controul; now for a while engaged James's anxious attention, and gave ſcope for the exerciſe of all his buſtling activity. The ſuſpicions with which the clergy ſtill viewed James's lenity to the Popiſh party, rendered their zeal and their cenſorial

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censorial pretensions so much the more troublesome. All was fomented by the intrigues of Elizabeth's agents, who still strove to retain James weak, and mean, by holding his affairs continually embroiled. At length, Mr David Black, minister of St Andrew's, exercised in the pulpit, that censorial authority which the clergy claimed, with a seditious virulence which could neither be overlooked nor forgiven. Yet, the Assembly of the church scrupled not to espouse their brother's cause: and it was with difficulty that James could enforce a sentence, by which, during his royal pleasure, Black was exiled beyond the Spey. The clergy of Edinburgh, and the *Commission* of the General Assembly, exerted themselves with the most persevering and outrageous activity, to stir up such a general indignation throughout the city and the kingdom, as should force the King to pardon Black, and submit himself to their censorial controul. A tumult, by which James's life was seriously endangered, was, amid these bold exertions of the clergy, suddenly raised among the populace of Edinburgh. James, indignant, retired to Linlithgow, and commanded all the courts of justice, and the boards of the administration, to withdraw themselves out of the rebellious city. The ministers endeavoured to engage the Lord Hamilton, as the leader of a general rebellion, in which they were ready to

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raiſe the whole commons of the nation to follow him. But the magiſtrates, and all the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, now ſtrove to propitiate the King's wrath; who threatened to inflict upon their community all the penalties of treaſon. The interceſſion of Elizabeth, the ſurrender of their moſt important privileges, and the payment of an ample fine, at length obtained the royal pardon to the city of Edinburgh, for the guilt which they had incurred by threatening the Sovereign's life. But, its miniſters, whoſe treaſonable offers Hamilton had indignantly rejected, were obliged to provide for their ſafety by flight into England. Pecuniary corruption won the clergy themſelves to ſurrender thoſe of their privileges, which had been found in the exerciſe, the moſt obnoxious to the civil power. The reſtoration of Epiſcopacy was ſoon recurred to, as an additional meaſure requiſite to check the turbulence of the Preſbyterians. Amid this triumphant career of his affairs, James once more pardoned the exiled Popiſh Lords *.

IN the mean time, Elizabeth advanced in years, and the hopes of the Engliſh were turned more and more towards James. By a compoſition, which he named *Baſilicon Doron*, and oſtentatiouſly printed for the inſtruction of the nation,

* Eoſdem quos ſupra.

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tion, he ſhewed to the world, that he was not deficient in that knowledge of the principles of civil government, which is neceſſary to a wiſe Monarch. He ſcrupled not to intrigue with the Engliſh nobles; and found very many of them ſufficiently ready to worſhip the riſing ſun. He again, by various arts, highly ſuſpicious to the furious Preſbyterians, ſtrove to conciliate the favour of the Roman-Catholics at home and abroad, whoſe oppoſition he had ſufficient reaſon to dread. By an early application to the Proteſtant Princes, the relations of his Queen, he ſtrove alſo to intereſt them in behalf of his pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown.

Gowry's conſpiracy.

1600.

Another ſtrange conſpiracy to ſeize his perſon, for a moment diſturbed the operations of his government, and the plans of his policy. He had ſet out from his palace of Falkland, upon a hunting excurſion, on the morning of the fifth day of Auguſt, in the year one thouſand and ſix hundred, when he was ſuddenly, and in a ſuſpicious manner, invited by Alexander Ruthven, to repair to Perth, for the purpoſe of there receiving a treaſure which had been ſeized by Ruthven, and of ſecretly examining the bearer, whom he ſtill held in confinement. From the chace, James repaired to Perth, in compliance with Ruthven's deſire, to the houſe of his brother, the Earl of Gowry. He was ſoon conducted to the cloſet, where

where Ruthven pretended to retain in confinement the man whom he had brought the King to examine. It was a man in armour belonging to to the Earl of Gowry, who awaited him in that cloſet. An attempt was made to bind or aſſaſſinate the Monarch, but was fruſtrated by his cries and ſtruggles. His attendants taking the alarm, ſoon ruſhed to ſave him. The Earl of Gowry and his brother were both ſlain amidſt the fray. So few had been admitted into conſciouſneſs of their deſign, that the circumſtances of this attempt could never be ſatisfactorily accounted for. The clergy lamented the fate of the Ruthvens, whoſe father had alſo ſuffered for treaſon to James. Nor could James and his courtiers ever perſuade the zealous Preſbyterian clergy, cordially to allow, that it had been in an attempt againſt James's life, and not in a baſe contrivance of James and his courtiers againſt them, that the Earl of Gowry and his brother periſhed. Perhaps it was with the contrivance of Elizabeth, perhaps it might be in concert with ſome perſons in James's own Court, that this weak and wicked attempt was made. It may be, that ASTROLOGY, *the folly of the age, to the ſtudy of which the young Earl of Gowry was addicted, had impelled him, in concert with his brother, to employ theſe unequal and fruitleſs means, to revenge their*

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father's fall, and to procure their own aggrandizement.

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Conſpiracy of Eſſex; and death of Elizabeth.

A conſpiracy and inſurrection ſoon after diſturbed the cloſing reign of the Queen of England. The Earl of Eſſex had been one of her chief favourites. But, the boldneſs of his ambition, the impatience of his temper, his preſumption upon her favour, and his miſcarriages in a high military command, brought him at laſt to incur her ſerious diſpleaſure. He had in the mean time, entered into a correſpondence with the King of the Scots, was friendly to James's pretenſions to the ſucceſſion, and ſought to ſecure his favour againſt the time when he ſhould aſcend the Engliſh throne. Impatient of reſtraints to which Elizabeth in her anger ſubjected him, he made an attempt to raiſe an inſurrection in London, which ſhould enable him to controul the royal will. He failed in his attempt. He was convicted of treaſon, and periſhed on the ſcaffold. Elizabeth had intruſted him, in the days of his favour with her, with a ring which ſhe wiſhed him to ſend to claim her mercy, if he ſhould be at any time reduced to this hapleſs neceſſity. He ſent the ring. It was not delivered. Believing that he ſcorned to ſolicit, ſhe angrily ſuffered him to die, although ſhe rather wiſhed to ſpare him. Learning afterwards, how that an enemy had with-held the

the fatal ring when ſent by Eſſex, ſhe never ſmiled more. She was already ſinking under the infirmities of age. She died of a ſort of lethargic melancholy, in the forty-fifth year of her reign, the ſeventieth of her age.—Of her character, let it be ſufficient here to obſerve; that ſhe poſſeſſed all that majeſty of mind which was requiſite to give due dignity to the Crown; that her own perſonal intereſts being cloſely interwoven with thoſe of her people and of the Proteſtant religion, ſhe had the wiſdom to ſee this, and to regulate all her conduct with a due regard to it; that the ſituations of the neighbouring Kings and nations, with the great authority which her father had acquired to the throne, and the deciſive ſuperiority which the Proteſtant religion had already obtained among her people, were the ſources of much of that proſperity of her government which was attributed to the energy of her perſonal talents and the wiſdom of her counſels; that, if free in her private character from the groſſer and more licentious vices, ſhe was, however, habitually guilty of ſome of the more gloomy and darkly ſelfiſh; that in policy, it was ever the *expedient*, with no very ſcrupulous regard to the *right* which ſhe ſtudied; that *ſtrong common ſenſe* appears to have been that moſt eminent talent of her mind from which all the greatneſs of her character has had its riſe; but

Eliza-beth's character.

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but that ſometimes a woman's vanity, and ſometimes tyrannical ſuſpicions drove her to treſpaſs againſt its dictates.

James, in theſe latter years of his reign in Scotland, had laboured to civilize the northern and weſtern Highlands, with their contiguous iſlets, with an enlightened and patriotic œconomy highly honourable to his reign. On the eaſtern coaſts of his dominions, he had with great zeal, laboured to advance the proſperity of all the fiſhing and trading towns. Throughout the whole kingdom, he had done much to promote the intereſts of the induſtrious Commons, who were now, ſince the Reformation, beginning to riſe into new importance. He met, with ſufficient readineſs the offers of the Engliſh nobles, when they vied in paying their court to him, as they ſaw Elizabeth's end draw near. At her death, Elizabeth had declared her wiſhes that James might, without oppoſition ſucceed on her throne. The Lords of her Privy Council, proclaimed his ſucceſſion, as ſoon as ſhe had breathed her laſt. Noble meſſengers ſoon arrived at Holyroodhouſe with the not unwelcome news. James was ſolemnly proclaimed King of England. Committing the government of Scotland to his Privy Council, and intruſting the care of his children to different noblemen,

James ſucceeds her on the Engliſh Throne.

noblemen, he forthwith departed for England. He was every where received with the fondeſt joy. He, on his part, laviſhed honours, and whatever he had to beſtow, with a facility which ſhewed him to be indeed extremely deſirous to recommend himſelf effectually to the good-will of his new ſubjects *.

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* Calderwood: Burrel's Diary, &c.

End of the First Section *of the* Fifth Book,

AND OF

VOLUME FOURTH.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM